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VIEWS AND REVIEWS

I

IN January, 1921, nearly all the legislatures will be in session and it seems likely that more business of importance will be transacted than in many a long year.

In the search for new revenue to meet increased costs and loss of liquor taxes a few states acted boldly in 1919 and the rest of them must in 1921. The remedy will usually be a state income tax and if the National Tax Association is adequate to the opportunity, its model program will exert a far-reaching influence. If not, the tax situation, particularly for corporations owning property in numerous states, will become confusion worse confounded.

Governor Lowden's administrative consolidation in Illinois in 1917, followed by similar simplification of the state governments in Idaho, Nebraska and Massachusetts in 1919, has set a fashion that will be widely copied in 1921. The budget movement, responding to the same pressures, does much to reveal the needless cost and complexity of state governments and if early budget operations prove disappointing from the standpoint of economy or scientific finance, much of the blame will be allotted to the ramshackle nature of the typical state administration.

Two states in 1919 restored state party nominating conventions in place of the direct primary and they may be the forerunners of jubilant reaction in many more states in 1921. Except by Dr. Boots in his voluminous and exhaustive study of the New Jersey law, the actual working of the direct primary has never been competently appraised and the wave of disgust at conventions has so far spent its force that new scientific affirmative material rather than negative emotional material is now needed. The old plan of Governor Hughes for responsible party leadership that made the nominations subject to an occasional subsequent appeal to the voters by counter nominations by petition is due for trial and conceivably may switch the tendency of the day toward a more hopeful solution than the restoration of the old style convention.

In witness whereof the National Municipal League is endeavoring to meet the needs ahead by covering comprehensively in the REVIEW the subjects of budgets and administrative consolidations down to date, by seeking incessantly for further testimony on how the new state budgets and the consolidations are working, by enlisting the Governmental Research Conference to draft a model state budget law and by creating a committee to draft and defend a model election law including consideration of direct primary, Massachusetts form of ballot,

presidential preference primary, etc.

The local civic leagues and bureaus that start early on these topics are likely to find themselves unusually welcome at the capitols in January.

II

Among other projects authorized by the Council of the National Municipal League for 1920 are a committee on Municipal Pensions and another on a Model Municipal Bond Act. The basic work of both these committees is apparently half done in advance by the researches and exhaustive studies of local workers, needing only review and adaptation to make it of interest in many jurisdictions. The committee on Public Utilities has abundantly excused itself for failure to set up a complete program of reforms to be recommended to cities, by exhibiting in this issue the colossal magnitude of the task.

In the Review we have enlisted competent authorities to prepare technical supplements of permanent value on

Zoning,
Vice-repression,
Taxation,
City-manager Plan,
School Civics,
State Administrative Supervision of Municipalities,
The Illinois Administrative Code in Practice, and
City-county Consolidations.

—Now is the time to subscribe!

III

Ex-President Purdy, in his little homily in this issue, charms by his sweet persuasiveness on the subject of "Names," pleading for the withdrawal of the epithet meanings of such good sound words as "democrat" and "politician," and for a fuller appreciation of the virtues that go along with the political glad-hander whom it is so often the bookish reformers' duty to tackle.

But Mr. Purdy was not so wise in claiming that labels make no real difference. There he was denying his own record. Had you recognized him as a leading single-taxer? Does New York realize how far it moved toward single tax under Mr. Purdy's noiseless leadership? How dexterously he has avoided the label which would make the listener prejudge and resist his teaching! Scientific assessment of property —the valuation of the building at only the amount by which it enhances the total value—the elimination of the building in course of construction—zoning to stabilize and enhance land values—etc., all tending to make land values the one satisfactory and abundant source of revenue until the time comes when single taxers in Baltimore making a noisy frontal attack by proposing the taxing of buildings at half rates, find that even then their city would be drawing hardly more of the public revenue from land than New York does!

Or take "municipal ownership" of street car lines—why excite the tories by talking about it? Propose that the city guaranteed the despairing owners of the railroad a return of 5 per cent and no more in return for control of the service and fares in every uttermost detail. The tories will stand for that! Give up the obnoxious name in exchange for the essence!

The reasons why labels count for so much is because convictions are so often formed in the mind at the first impact of the idea. Few will wait with open minds while you complete your argument. Their judgments crystallize as soon as they see your direction.

HOUSING—THE TURN OF AFFAIRS IN ENGLAND

BY FREDERICK L. ACKERMAN

England had a housing shortage and a vigorous constructive housing policy prior to the war; but under present economic conditions and a greatly intensified shortage the policy no longer works.—An entirely new technique is emerging. :: :: :: :: :: ::

I

THE shortage of houses has become acute in England. Public interest has been aroused, not by propaganda but through a very large body of citizens having made intimate contact with the "problem." All hands,—workers, builders, architects, propagandists, the press and the government are bent upon solving the problem; and yet the way to a "solution" is not very clear.

In view of the fact that we are rapidly drifting into a similar condition, it may be well to examine briefly what is being said and done at the present time in Great Britain. It should be recalled that England has had considerable experience with this problem. Prior to the war, she had resorted to restrictive legislation, the "stimulation" of housing by the use of "credit" administered under authority of the Local Government Board. She had her housing and town planning act and was, at the outbreak of the war, about to make the planning of all areas likely to be used within a reasonable time, obligatory upon local authorities. A serious shortage was then accumulating and this was not being met by the combined efforts of speculative builders, co-partnership enterprises, manufacturers and local authorities. Slum clearance was being carried out in the larger cities. Five years of war resulted in the accumulation of a shortage, now conservatively estimated at no less than a million houses.

It would be a long story to review the effort which has been made to launch the project of erecting the necessary accommodations. We may, therefore, pass to the present situation. In doing so we should keep in mind that the will to do may be said to be almost universal: There is no considerable "conservative" opposition attempting to block the movement or the proposals of the government. The controlling factors in the situation are those spoken of as economic.

What it is proposed to do and how it is proposed to do it, may be seen through an examination of the "Housing" (Additional Powers) act, October, 1919, which contains a number of interesting provisions the more important of which may be summarized as follows:

(1) To make grants to persons or bodies constructing houses for the working classes, the aggregate amount of such grants not to exceed 15,000,000 pounds.

(2) To meet expenses incurred in converting houses into flats.

(3) To prohibit building operations which interfere with the provision of dwelling houses.

(4) To prohibit, under a penalty, the demolition of any house reasonably fit or capable of being made fit for habitation.

(5) To empower local authorities to raise money by the issue of local bonds.

(6) To enable local authorities to acquire land for garden cities or town planning schemes.

The Ministry reports, January 24, 1920, that the "total number of schemes submitted by local authorities and public utility societies is now 8,380, comprising about 60,000 acres. The schemes approved now number 3,942 and comprise about 33,500 acres."

BUILDING SITES

Schemes Submitted.—The number received from sixty-six local authorities was 270, comprising 486 acres, and bringing the total number of schemes promoted by local authorities to 8,279, covering approximately 57,000 acres.

Schemes Approved.—The number of schemes approved was 199, bringing the total number approved to 3,904, comprising about 32,550 acres.

LAY-OUTS

Schemes Submitted.—Eighty schemes were submitted by forty-eight local authorities, bringing the total number of schemes submitted to 2,296.

Schemes Approved. — Seventy-one schemes, promoted by forty-four local authorities, were approved, bringing the total number of schemes to 1,574.

HOUSE PLANS

Schemes Submitted.—Schemes, representing some 4,727 houses, were submitted by sixty-two local authorities. The total number of schemes submitted represents 92,678 houses.

Schemes Approved.—Schemes, representing 3,220 houses, were approved. The total number of schemes approved represents 76,729 houses.

Notwithstanding these figures and the inducement of a subsidy of 150 pounds which have been offered, the actual work is proceeding very slowly, so slowly as to suggest that the shortage will never be made good; for the rate of construction is far behind that of pre-war days—when the shortage was then accumulating.

While there is much talk and some action in line with the provision of additional housing in London and the larger cities, there is hope contained in the rule laid down by the Treasury with respect to finance. All authorities with a ratable value of 200,000 pounds are expected to find their own capital. It looks as if the significance of Letchworth was being worked into a program of government action.

II

After one has examined every phase of the problem and made note of how little progress is actually being made, how utterly impossible it is to work out an "economic" program for building these houses at this time without completely upsetting the present relationship between wages and rents, he is led to the conclusion that the problem is not to be solved by any program or formula which even remotely resembles the pre-war technique.

For the pre-war technique was, with the exception of restrictive legislation, at bottom an attempt to counteract the current of investment for profit (as related to land and production) which flowed toward those fields of investment where the chances of profit were many times larger than could be produced by investing in buildings for housing the people.

It is plain enough that the various schemes of "stimulation" were one and all in the nature of collective action as regards the consumption of goods (expressed in the occupancy of buildings and rents). It was not collective action as related to production. What these schemes really aimed to accomplish was the insurance of the usual prospective speculative profit which

had been derived from building operations of the character so universally deplored. The building of houses under the reign of "stimulation" was a means to an end. The means was the building of houses; the end was profit upon investment. In the days before speculative enterprise in building failed completely to keep pace with the demand for houses—houses were merely the by-product of a speculative adventure. They are still so rated; and the reason why they are not now being built is simply because the subsidy and the other sundry odd aids and inducements held out are not sufficient to insure that amount of profit which is likely to accrue to those who invest their capital in other enterprises promising a much greater speculative return.

III

The prospects for the future in England would be gloomy indeed were it not for the fact that the drift of opinion as to what constitutes a "solution" is shifting from its old position. The new suggestion may be doomed to failure; but this may be said of it—it strikes at the elimination of certain of the causes which make for the shortage.

The building workers of Manchester have offered to form a guild and to build, for a beginning, 2,000 houses for the Manchester city council. In fact, the Islam council has before it rival offers from the Trade Union guild committee and from the local master-builders. In view of the general labor conditions, the fact that the guild is in a position to insure the necessary supply of labor while the master-builders are not, raises an extremely interesting question as to the relative value of these two proposals. This condition of fact taken in connection with close relationship now existing between labor and the technicians, and the tendency of these to pull together, suggest that if this program should succeed the way was open for the complete elimination for the social losses occasioned by speculative building and price competition.

The significance of this proposal is not confined to the elimination of the losses referred to. The building of factories and "luxury" building goes on apace and under criticism. The guild would be able to mobilize labor and direct its effort into such building operations as are most urgently needed. To succeed here would be to solve the housing problem; for it is and has been the use of labor in connection with the production of socially useless goods that has left the common man to find his home in the slum. Naturally there is argument and debate regarding the financial arrangements, the guarantee, etc., which would have to be made. Well! what *are* the financial resources of the average speculative builder? What about his guarantee? One may argue this question without end and get nowhere; the final answer will probably be found by the old trial and error method: and it is more than likely that the final answer will rest upon the validity of these grounds. A financial guarantee has no value unless it contains a labor guarantee. The builder may give a financial guarantee, but he is not able to deliver a labor guarantee. Only labor is able to deliver this. The question arises will labor be afforded the chance to deliver?

THE INCOME TAX VERSUS THE HOUSING SHORTAGE

BY WALTER STABLER

In his position in the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, Mr. Stabler is one of the largest and most scientific lenders of mortgage money in the world and possesses an extraordinarily broad knowledge of real estate conditions. :: :: :: :: :: :: ::

NONE of the conditions resulting from the war is causing so much uneasiness and such serious discussion as the housing situation. By housing, I mean not only places for people to sleep and eat, but places where they must work and carry on their daily vocations. Dwellings, apartments, factories, stores, office buildings, hotels, in fact every class of building used by man, are in short supply, and this scarcity is increasing. Enough has been said and written in the past two years as to many of the causes of this shortage so far as the supply and costs of labor and material are concerned. The situation in these respects has cleared to some extent—not by any means enough nor as satisfactorily as we could wish, but there is material to be obtained and labor to be had but at increasingly high prices. But we must have buildings even if they do cost more than has ever been known, and we must pay higher rents than were ever dreamed of, for we must be protected from the elements when we sleep and work, and we must and will adjust ourselves to the changed conditions and make the best of it.

THE WORST FEATURE

But the most serious shortage in the entire situation is the shortage of money for mortgage loans to finance building operations. There is plenty of money in the country, but it has been taxed out of the mortgage market into other channels, where the chances of profit are greater or the income taxes less, or where securities are tax exempt. Money for mortgages has heretofore come very largely from individuals and estates, very many of whom preferred this very safe and sure form of investment to other securities of fluctuating values. Very many conservative men of large means formerly directed their executors to invest the funds of their estates in bonds and mortgages. I doubt if this practice will be continued so long as the income taxes on large incomes remain as high as now. When a gross interest rate of 6 per cent is reduced by income taxes to a net of 2 to 3 per cent, the nontaxable municipal or state or county or school or even road bonds paying 4½ to 5 per cent net are naturally preferred. This has resulted in the entire removal from the real estate mortgage market of untold millions of money, and this process will continue unless the income tax laws are so modified that investors will feel justified in again putting their funds into mortgages. They surely cannot be expected to leave their money in highly taxed mortgages or make new investments of this kind, when there are many other perfectly safe securities which will pay twice as much because of tax exemption. Holders of mortgages in large sums, and estates, formerly heavy investors in such securities,

are calling these loans as rapidly as they come due, often to the serious inconvenience of the property owners. Many of our largest real estate owners are selling their holdings and requiring payment in full in cash. The replacement of these mortgages and the cash needed to pay all cash for such real estate purchases must be and has been obtained from the savings banks and life insurance companies, which are not so heavily taxed or are practically tax exempt. This removes from the mortgage market just so much money that could have been used for the production of new buildings.

FACING THE ISSUE

Let us, therefore, face the question squarely. Few of the buildings of all kinds that are so much needed can be built unless mortgage money can be obtained in very large amount. The life insurance companies, not being subject to taxation in the same way as individuals, can and are lending to the limit of their ability; but life insurance loans must be divided between city loans and farm loans, and farm loans do not increase housing to any extent. If all of the life insurance funds went into the building of places to live they would be only a drop in the bucket to what is needed. The savings banks are in much the same position and they are doing their full duty, but those two great sources of money are and will be totally unable to even begin to meet the necessary demands.

It is, therefore, imperative that the funds of individual investors and estates be induced to return to the mortgage market if we are to have any resumption of building that will begin to relieve the present serious situation. Commissions and committees may meet, and resolve and report and suggest, but this does not produce housing. We have four years of nearly total cessation of building to make up, and we cannot make up and we can never catch up unless we go at it with unusual vigor. But we cannot go at it unless we have the usual funds for mortgages, and these funds cannot be had unless there is relief from income tax requirements on mortgage interest until the shortage is greatly relieved. Then, too, we must remember that it requires fully twice as much money to build now as it did four years ago, and we have a vastly smaller sum to use for a vastly larger need.

RELIEF IMPERATIVE

How can this situation be improved? And what will bring these vanishing funds back into real estate loans? Manifestly by relieving this best of all investments from income taxes for a period of years long enough to enable us to build what we must have and what we cannot get without this relief. There have been introduced in congress and the New York state legislature several bills, the purpose of which is to relieve income derived from mortgages not exceeding $40,000 in one owner's hands from income tax. This would surely be a great help, but I think the limit is set too low. I would favor the exemption from income tax of all interest on mortgages, for a period of five years, by which time we should be again in normal condition and our people so well supplied with houses that the fear of lack of shelter and exorbitant rents would be removed. I have no doubt the reply to this or any proposal for relief from taxation will be that "the government needs the money," or such a plan would be "discrimination," etc. The income tax law was enacted because of needs created by the war—this housing situation was created by the war—the

entire population in cities and towns, who are not home owners, is suffering because of high rents brought about largely by housing shortage. Such persons are doubly hurt, for besides the income taxes a large proportion pay, they must also pay excessive rents and must continue so to do until there is housing in plenty. This is one of the greatest breeders of discontent. It hits the masses and the persons of moderate incomes, and especially those of fixed incomes—they are helpless, with income stationary or diminishing and outgo increasing. This situation must be changed—these people must have their burdens lightened or we will face greater discontent than now exists.

THE PLAIN DUTY OF LEGISLATORS

We must bring this need clearly and strongly before our legislators, both federal and state—it should be urged in season and out of season. It is the duty of all real estate men and builders, and in fact every man and woman who must live in rented quarters, to push this campaign. We must say to congress that there is vastly more need for tax exemption on city mortgages for housing of urban population than there is for exemption of farm loan bonds. City dwellers have done their full share in helping to win the war, by service in the ranks and at home; by contributions to every war utility; by subscription to liberty bonds and war saving stamps, frequently to the point of embarrassment. And these things have all been done freely and cheerfully. Many of these people are now obliged to sell their bonds to meet the increased cost of living and great increase in rent. Congress and the state legislatures should remember this, and do what they can to relieve the rental situation by enacting legislation that will make mortgage money more plentiful and thereby greatly aid in increasing housing space.

THE FIRST VIRGINIA BUDGET

BY A. E. BUCK

New York Bureau of Municipal Research

Although nearly half the states have adopted fairly good executive budget laws (as described in extenso in our August, 1919, issue), very few states have as yet got their budget systems working. The difficulties in Virginia foreshadow what many governors will encounter in 1921. :: :: :: :: :: :: :: :: :: ::

I

THE first Virginia budget, as presented by Governor Davis to the 1920 legislature, bears evidence to a most striking degree of the great need for reorganization of the state government. It exhibits, for the first time, the ramshackle condition of the governmental organization, showing about one hundred administrative offices, boards, commissions, departments, bureaus, institutions and other agencies which operate practically without any centralized control or supervision. It shows that the most archaic methods and procedures are being used in handling the state's business. The accounting system is decentralized; almost half of the state's revenues is held in special and dedicated funds; the fee system is still in vogue; the state is without a civil service system; and there is no centralized control over state purchasing. Can the budget, a mechanism of financial control, be made to operate effectively when geared to such a governmental machine? This is the question not only for Virginia to answer, but for almost a score of other states to answer which have adopted budget plans of a similar type to be operated under like conditions.

Governor Davis, in what may be termed his "budget message," seems to be aware of the needed changes in governmental organization and management which the budget has disclosed. He recommends that the auditor of public accounts be vested with the authority to centralize accounting procedure and to exercise auditing control over all the revenues and expenditures of the state; that certain special and dedicated funds be placed in the general fund of the state treasury; that fees and commissions be discontinued and the compensation of state officials be fixed by statute; that the services of persons be graded and the salaries standardized for each grade; and that a centralized purchasing agency be created. But does he go far enough? Can an obsolete and ramshackle machine be made to work effectively, that is to produce maximum service at minimum running cost, by the addition of a few new bolts, wheels and belts? Governor Lowden of Illinois, Governor Davis of Idaho, and Governor McKelvie of Nebraska did not think so. They made administrative reorganization a prerequisite to the adoption of a budget system which makes the governor responsible for financial planning and at the same time enables him to control the expenditures of the state government.

The obstacles arising from a decentralized administrative organization apparently led Governor Davis to compromise to a considerable extent the central idea of the Virginia budget

law, namely, that the budget recommendations submitted to the legislature shall represent the best judgment of the governor as the budget-making authority. He invited five members of the legislature—two from the senate and three from the house—to sit with him in reviewing the estimates and to assist him in preparing the budget recommendations. He has the authority to call upon any officer of the administration to assist him in the preparation of his budget and this he may do without introducing the element of compromise in his financial proposals to the legislature, yet he states that he felt the need of the "experience of men of long training in the legislature in the handling of appropriations." This expedient has been used by other states, notably New Jersey, where the governor is charged with making budget recommendations to the legislature. The governor takes into his counsel a few of the legislative leaders, or representatives of the legislature, in preparing his budget recommendations, as the easiest way of preventing the legislature from giving ear to later demands of various independent officers and agents of the administration for more appropriations than the executive recommendations carry. In so doing he may fortify his budget recommendations against change in the legislature, but he tends to sacrifice an element in budgetary procedure which is of the greatest importance, that is, the element of legislative criticism of the executive's financial plan. Without critical consideration and discussion on the part of the legislature there can be little publicity, and publicity is essential to sound budget making. Still this does not mean that the executive and the legislature should act in complete independence of each other, for the determination of the state's financial policy is necessarily a joint task of the legislature and the executive. It simply means that the lines of responsibility for the different stages of budgetary procedure shall be clearly drawn.

However, one can hardly expect Governor Davis to do otherwise. He is only the nominal head of the administration; numerous independent administrative officers may ignore his budget recommendations and go directly to the legislature with their requests; and he exercises practically no control over the expenditures after the appropriations have been made. This condition is set forth by the report of the commission on economy and efficiency to the 1918 legislature, but the commission does not make any definite recommendations for administrative reorganization. It is control over the administration and over its expenditures that enables the governor to enforce his budget plan, and that at the same time furnishes him with reliable and adequate information for the preparation of the next budget. Unless such control is vested in the governor the executive budget is destined to become little more than a farce.

II

But aside from these obstacles which stand in the way of the effective working of the Virginia budget system, the budget document itself deserves consideration. In the compilation of this document the governor was assisted by a staff under the direction of his secretary, Colonel LeRoy Hodges. The principal member of this staff was Mr. J. H. Bradford, a statistician. A large number of preliminary surveys and studies were made of the various governmental agencies as well as of the general financial and economic condition of the state. These surveys and studies were conducted by special sur-

vey boards appointed by the governor and by research agencies employed from without the state (the Detroit Bureau of Municipal Research and the Institute for Public Service). The results of this work are not apparent in the budget except as they may enter into the governor's recommendations. The governor's analysis of the financial needs and resources of the state, the budget classifications used in preparing the estimates, twenty-five statistical tables, and the classified estimates constitute the budget document—a volume of more than four hundred quarto pages.

The governor's analysis gives a summary statement of the anticipated revenues and estimated expenditures for each of the two years to be financed. This statement, however, does not take into account more than one half of the total revenues and expenditures of the state government; that is, it includes only the revenues accruing to the general fund, currently appropriated by the legislature, and concerning the expenditure of which the governor makes recommendations to the legislature under the budget law. The absence of a complete statement of the financial requirements for each of the years to be financed is the most conspicuous omission in the budget document. No attempt is made to produce this most important of the budget statements even in approximate figures, since it is regarded as impossible under the present laws governing the auditor's office and because of the state's decentralized accounting and auditing system. Difficulty in this regard also arises from the habit of appropriating for a year—March 1 to February 28—which is different from the fiscal year—October 1 to September 30.

In going through the budget document one immediately notices the great number of statistical tables, twenty-five in all, which have been included. Not more than ten of these tables are of primary importance; the others merely reclassify or supplement in more detail the data contained in these tables. The ten important tables might be easily consolidated into half that number. For example, tables 1 to 4 inclusive, might be combined into a single table, showing the total receipts and revenues of the state for each of the years to be financed. Apparently, so many tables have resulted from an over-emphasis of the statistical side of budget-making; and they are likely to confuse rather than clarify the financial data. It is easy to befuddle any mind with figures, and especially is this true when legislators and taxpayers are called upon to peruse forty-nine quarto pages of statistical tables in order to understand something of the finances of their state government.

III

In conclusion, it should be said that the first Virginia budget, while prepared under certain grave limitations resulting from a chaotic administrative organization and from almost obsolete business methods, is, nevertheless, a document of such content and arrangement as to deserve the careful study of budget-making authorities in other states. Furthermore, its contents, if seriously considered, ought to enable the legislature and the people of Virginia to understand clearly, and perhaps for the first time, the pressing need for a unified administrative organization operated on modern business principles. Petty savings of a year or two should not divert the attention of the legislature from this important need. No permanent economy can be effected without change, the scope of which is indicated by the budget.

YONKERS TURNS OVER A NEW LEAF

BY STEPHEN J. PATTEN[1]

The modern way of reforming municipal politics is to organize a local bureau of municipal research and go to battle (if necessary) on a basis of incontestable facts. This is the second of a series of stories of how this method works, the Richmond story in the December issue being the first. :: :: :: :: :: :: :: :: :: ::

THE political difficulties of the city of Yonkers have been in the past aggravated to some extent by the fact that it is within the metropolitan area of New York city and that over one quarter of its population are commuters withdrawing themselves from Yonkers during the day and returning tired and hungry in the late evening, usually by the subway or the New York central. With business interests and, for the most part, the amusements of the people without the city limits, the voters need to be spurred to give heed to local problems. In addition to this difficulty, the geographical remoteness of much of Yonkers from other parts has prevented that growth of community interest and civic patriotism which one usually finds in more closely-knit communities. Yonkers consists of about a score of isolated communities spread over an area of twenty-one square miles, each a little commuters' paradise and each self-sufficient except for what the great metropolis supplies. These conditions and the fact that the city has a large and heterogenous foreign population made the city fertile soil for the growth of that typical American product variously described as "the machine," "the ring" or "invisible government."

Yonkers fell an easy prey for a little group of political parasites who for many years Tammanyized the city. In 1916 the rapid and disproportionate increase in the city's annual expenditures and its indebtedness caused the tax rate to mount in alarming fashion and threatened the stability of real estate values. Some of the substantial citizens of the city, becoming aware of this situation through the unpleasant pressure upon their pocketbooks, decided after investigation that steps must be taken if the city was to avoid bankruptcy. The establishment of a bureau of municipal research was decided on with a view to turning the search-light of publicity upon the activities of those who were in charge of the city's destinies. The aid of the New York bureau (which had itself started with similar aims and purposes) was invoked to supply the needed talent. Funds for the support of the organization were easily collected from interested taxpayers and the first secretary started to work. The bureau was destined to be a paying investment to all of its subscribers. In fact it was the genesis of a reform movement which has definitely aligned Yonkers among the well-governed cities of the state.

BUDGETARY PROBLEMS

Naturally enough, the first problem toward which the bureau's attention was directed was the budget. Yonkers, as a second class city, has the mayor-board-of-estimate type of

[1] Mr. Patten, the author of this interesting study, died on February 20, 1920.

charter similar to New York city. Although the law explicitly stated that the annual estimates of all departments should be placed in the hands of the mayor by the department heads on or before November first, these estimates frequently were not made up until March, with the result that tax bills would be held up until June. With the fiscal year starting January first, the city was, of course, compelled to borrow in anticipation of these revenues and the annual loss in interest charges due to sheer procrastination was $15,000. A bad feature of such an arrangement is the fact that when city money is spent in this fashion prior to the passage of the budget, it goes without let or hindrance since there is no appropriation or restraint of any kind on the city official. The first report of the bureau attacked this severely. As a result of the publicity given to this matter, the city now puts out its budget promptly at the start of the year. Moreover budgets in the past in Yonkers had never contained comparative data by which the board of estimate could judge of the need for the requests. Seeing this defect, the bureau was instrumental in preparing a set of forms for presenting departmental requests. These were adopted by the city so that now the board of estimate has detailed comparisons with appropriations and expenditures of previous years right before it.

WASTE IN THE LAYING OF WATER MAINS

Toward the end of 1916, the bureau was able to expose, in its second report, a scandalous waste of city money in laying water mains by day labor. Comparison with New York city, where work was done by contract, showed that Yonkers had spent in one year, $80,000 on work which should have cost only $20,000, paying five times what New York was paying per lineal foot in laying water mains. So prodigal had been the expenditures that it was strongly suspected that the pay-rolls of the department of public works were padded for political purposes. As a result of this report, an ordinance was passed in April, 1917, ordering this work to be done thereafter by contract.

Other reports were put out by the bureau with constructive recommendations in each case which were for the most part adopted by the city. The discovery of a serious cash shortage due to the dishonesty of the cashier in the treasurer's office was the occasion for a report advocating reforms in payment procedure which would place a better check upon the cashier and prevent dishonesty or unintentional errors.

A BAD WATER EXTENSION PROJECT

One of the most illuminating reports put out dealt with the problem of water supply in Yonkers. To deal with a shortage regarded as imminent, the common council of the city of Yonkers had in 1913 embarked on a very costly project—the enlarging of Grassy Sprain reservoir. The total cost was figured to be somewhere in the neighborhood of $4,000,000, and the annual charges for maintenance and fixed charges were estimated at $315,000. Even with all this expense the new plant would be insufficient in 1935. The report of the bureau put out in December, 1917, condemned this project and advocated its abandonment, backing its contention by figures showing conclusively that under the only possible method of financing the project, the carrying charges would be greater than if other methods of obtaining water were adopted. Instead

the bureau advocated that the city take advantage of chapter 601, laws of New York for 1916, which gives municipal corporations of Westchester county the right to purchase water from New York in an amount proportionate to their population at the same rates that are charged in New York city. The computations made showed that the carrying charges for the Grassy Sprain reservoir extension up until 1935, when it would be insufficient, would total $868,000 more than the total cost of the necessary water purchased from New York city during that period. Furthermore by that time the $4,000,000 extension would be only about half paid for. So forcefully were the conclusions presented that the city abandoned the improvement of the reservoir. While it was found that the existing supply was unexpectedly sufficient for a time, the city is now preparing to tap New York city's Hillview reservoir, thus carrying out in full the recommendations of the bureau.

THE REFORM MOVEMENT

In the spring of 1917, the election year, there were a series of scandals culminating in a grand jury investigation. A number of city officials, some of them close to the mayor, were implicated. Irregularities of various sorts were uncovered. Five employes of the city were indicted for alleged felonies. As a result of these disclosures and a general realization of the shortcomings of the administration, something resembling a reform agitation swept over the city. William J. Wallin, an able lawyer and a close student of municipal problems was selected by the reform element as its candidate. He had been a trustee of the bureau since its inception and in the ensuing campaign received the backing of the sponsors of the research bureau, though the organization itself, of course, could not participate actively in politics. Though nominated on the republican ticket, he made a non-partisan plea on the issue that the "old gang" should be swept out of the City Hall and was elected by a large majority, attracting many democratic votes.

Immediately after his accession to office, the new mayor was confronted with financial problems, most of which were a heritage from the preceding régime. The democrats in the election year had resorted to the old trick of purposely overestimating revenues, thereby bringing about a low tax rate for that year. As a result Mayor Wallin was confronted with a huge deficit estimated at $629,675.51. Maturing obligations, consisting largely of running expenses of previous years, brought the total which had to be met, over and above operating expenses for the year 1918, to $2,186,011. Indeed the finances of the city were in a chaotic condition; the debt limit had been practically exhausted and there was upwards of five and one-half millions of unpaid taxes and assessments outstanding. The stupendous task of correcting these conditions and restoring the city to solvency was undertaken by the new administration with a good deal of courage and capacity. About half of the $2,000,000 was bonded and the remainder was met by boosting the tax rate to 3.51.

A comprehensive report of the bureau, put out at the start of 1918, discussing the various charges the city had to meet and explaining the necessity for the high tax rate brought the precarious financial condition of the city before the voters in effective fashion.

TAX AND ASSESSMENT ARREARS

This problem Mayor Wallin acknowledges to be the worst with which he is confronted at the present time; for indeed it is a long ways from being settled. The trouble here had its roots in the old régime of spendthrift extravagance. The proximity to New York had naturally caused Yonkers to experience in the past something of a boom. In fact since 1903, the population of the city (103,066 at present) has doubled.

A feverish desire to accelerate this boom and the natural spendthrift instincts of the politicians, which required little urging when it came to a matter of letting contracts to their friends, caused a great number of local improvements to be made in outlying districts which could not afford to pay for them. Lots only worth from $100 to $300 were frequently assessed for improvements up to their full value. Streets were cut through, and other improvements undertaken in districts which were practically undeveloped. A good deal of real estate became submerged under these excessive charges; people not only refused to pay the assessments but also failed to pay any taxes subsequently and the parcels involved became dead-wood on the rolls. The situation was aggravated by the fact that until 1917 the tax lien law which was supposed to aid the city in collecting taxes in arrears did not give the purchaser of tax liens a good title; consequently when the liens were offered for sale by the city, no bids were made and the city was forced to bid in practically all of them itself. This was remedied in 1917 by a bill which the bureau of municipal research helped to draw, but by that time, matters had gone from bad to worse. It was impossible for the city to sell the tax liens unless ample security in the value of the property was offered. Wherever the lien exceeded, equalled or even came near equalling the value of the property it was impossible to sell it in this fashion. So bad had the situation become, that a good many of the liens were unmarketable for precisely this reason.

In January, 1919, the Yonkers bureau went to the New York bureau and obtained the aid of two or three experts to make a thorough diagnosis of the tax situation in the city. It was found that the total uncollected taxes and assessments, which were legally collectible, amounted to $4,343,584.[1] Fourteen thousand five hundred parcels were found to be in arrears for a period greater than two years out of a total of 40,000. Probably the worst feature was the fact that the city had been spending these uncollected taxes by the simple expedient of borrowing against them on the theory that the taxes some time, somehow or other, would be paid. Seventy-six per cent of the property of the city was bearing the full brunt of all the taxes; the remainder being either exempt or delinquent. This had been long known in a general way; newspaper attacks on "tax-dodgers" had been growing in volume; but the facts of the matter had never before been presented concretely. The report showed that the 1917 law was not adequate to bring much of the property in arrears back on a tax-paying basis and advocated the "Buffalo Plan." Legislation was obtained by Mayor Wallin which would put this plan into effect. Briefly the plan is as follows: A board has been created by act of legislature composed of the following officers, the mayor, the comptroller, the treasurer, the president of

[1] $2,045,107.57 was temporarily uncollectible because of litigation.

the board of assessors and the corporation counsel. When a tax lien is bid in by the city at a sale, the board is authorized to receive an application from any person interested in the property for a compromise of the lien. After a hearing the board sets a compromise figure which is the amount it will take to wipe out the lien, being guided of course, by what it deems just and equitable and by what it thinks the city can get. Through this method, which means liquidating a lot of bad debts which the city has been carrying, it is hoped to restore ultimately most of the parcels to a tax-paying basis. Of course the city will have to face a loss, but how much better to face this loss and write it off rather than carry it as a fictitious asset! By issuing twenty year serial bonds whenever the certificates of indebtedness which the city has now outstanding against these uncollectible taxes fall due, the loss may be funded in such a fashion that the city can pay it off gradually and the burden need not be onerous in the budget of any one year.

While the board of compromise has not been in existence a sufficient length of time to judge of the efficacy of its work, the experience of Buffalo where it has been in operation for some time, would seem to be a strong recommendation in its favor. Buffalo, which was at one time in a similar predicament regarding tax arrears, has been able, during a period of thirteen years to compromise off arrears amounting to $1,118,560, the city being able to collect $368,206.32 of this amount.

The amount of loss which the city of Yonkers will have to bear as a result of previous maladministration cannot be exactly estimated; the state comptroller's office in a careful survey of the situation made in 1918 figured that the city would have to write off about a million in order to put all the property involved back on a tax-paying basis.

Much good work has already been done by the present administration in the collection of back taxes. A sale of tax liens was held in April, 1919, in which 11,500 of the 14,500 parcels were involved. As a result of this sale and the threat of the sale, the taxes on 5,700 were paid so that now the parcels delinquent since 1917 amount to only 8,800. It is hoped that many of these last will be dealt with through the compromise board. The following figures show in dollars and cents what the administration has done in two years to clean up these uncollected taxes:

TOTAL ACCOUNTS RECEIVABLE ON ACCOUNT OF UNPAID TAXES AND ASSESSMENTS; YEARS 1917 AND PRIOR

As of	Taxes	Ass'ts	Total
Dec. 31, 1917....	$2,560,012.16	$1,913,794.67	$4,473,806.83
Nov. 30, 1919....	1,285,618.07	1,605,640.29	2,891,258.36
Decrease....	$1,274,394.09	$308,154.38	$1,582,548.47

GOOD GOVERNMENT ENDORSED

In many other respects the present administration of the city has achieved signal success though laboring under distinct disadvantages. The city under its management was well able to weather the financial crisis in which it found itself in January, 1918. The high tax rate of 3.51 of that year dropped to 2.48 for 1919. The large and ever increasing deficits of the years 1915–16–17 were turned into a surplus of $157,740.44 for 1918. Although $50,000 was taken from unexpended appropriations for salary increases during the course of 1919, indications are that the city will more than break even for this year also. Instead of an exhausted bonding capacity, the city has now a quite comfortable mar-

[1] During the years prior to 1917 $1,300,000 levied against New York city's aqueduct was uncollected. This amount was in litigation then and is still; so it is left out of the above computation.

gin of approximately $2,000,000, and can look forward to building a much needed high school building in 1920.

The citizens of Yonkers showed their appreciation of the business-like administration which they have enjoyed, by turning the recent election into a republican landslide. Mayor Wallin and his associates were re-elected by a huge majority. On the whole city ticket, only four democratic aldermen were elected and three of these were from districts which are habitually democratic.

WHAT'S IN A NAME?

BY LAWSON PURDY

I

During the war a man who had acquired a very good reputation in the city of New York, a man of German descent and bearing a German name, came to an old friend of mine, a distinguished lawyer, and said to him,

"I have consulted one of the justices of the supreme court and the president of one of the banks with whom you are acquainted, concerning the change of my name. I find it is a serious handicap to me now because Germans at this stage of our life are looked upon with suspicion and it is a gross injustice to me that I should be so regarded. I am American by birth and American by tradition, American in loyalty. What do you think about my changing my name?"

My old friend said to him, "Do not do it; your reputation has been made under the name you have borne from your birth; if you change, you are running away from a temporary discomfort; you cannot remake yourself; your name will be what you make it; you have spent fifty years making it stand for something; do not run away from it."

I thought that was good advice, and it applies to the names of things and the names of parties, and oftentimes not only does the name get significance from the person that bears it or the party that carries it or the school of thought that it exemplifies, but in turn, the name gives character to the party or the person or the thing.

I am now the secretary of the Charity Organization Society of New York. A good many people who are in similar work, under similar names, have been very restless for several years, because they have said the word "charity" denoted something that was offensive, and they wanted to change it. A good many wanted to change it to the very excellent name that was given to the service that was performed by the Red Cross to the families of soldiers and sailors during the war who needed advice, help and assistance in various ways; that was called the Home Service Section of the Red Cross, and just a little while ago a man was trying to find an appropriate name for a society that would perform a somewhat similar service, and it was suggested to him that he might call it the Home Service Association. "Oh, no," he said, "Oh, no, that sounds like charity; that would not do at all."

I do not myself desire that the name of my own society should be changed; I have said to the people who want to change it, a good deal what my friend said to the man of German descent; our name is what we have made it

through a generation or two; if we change the name, we will not change our reputation.

If you do not like the reputation that you now have, the best way for you to accomplish the result you seek is to change your reputation, you won't accomplish a great deal by changing your name; that name will get a reputation you don't like if you stand for something that you do not like. I believe it was said that there was a certain home for boys that underwent three or four different changes. At first it was a refuge; that got a bad name, and then it was a house of training for boys. That got a bad name, and then it turned to something else, and that got a bad name. Apparently, they had not succeeded in changing the thing, in making the institution stand for that ideal that they sought and honestly sought, so it would not do them much good to change the name.

II

I am very much afraid that we are in danger of a real failure in our governmental life that is exemplified by the bad name that, in some quarters, the term "democrat" is getting. I am not using the term in a party sense, at all. Of course, I know what my friend Judson King means by the Popular Government League—he means an institution that shall make more effective the popular will, the will of the people. What does democrat mean? It means the government of all the people, and we have for a number of years back, been using that name as an adjective, applying it to men who oftentimes are very nice men, who are hail-fellow-well-met with everybody and put on no airs, are generally considerate to their fellows and are popular. Those men may or may not be wedded to the democratic form of government; I have known quite a number of them that were very, very far removed from that, and we degrade the term democrat when we merely apply it to a man's manners and not to his political standards of conduct.

It is a good thing to have good manners in politics, there is no doubt of that, and good manners mean a good deal more than merely the ordinary politeness of life. There is something a good deal deeper in it. Whether some of you like him or not, I think our fellow citizen William Jennings Bryan owes today a very large part of that very great influence that he has from the Atlantic to the Pacific, to the fact that in public life, he has been well-mannered. During his campaign of 1896, which I well remember, a good many hard things were said about him. There were things said of him that would have been very trying to any one of us and I have no doubt were very trying to him. He was then a young man, thirty-six years old, but those hard things said of him did not draw from him one single unkind word concerning his opponents. He never declared of them that their motives were bad. He argued with them on the basis of the practices of government for which they stood, and during all this time in which he has been before the public, I do not remember that he has ever departed from that policy of treating his opponents as persons of sincerity who desired the welfare of the State but sought means for achieving it that to him seemed bad.

III

In the city of New York, where I have lived practically all my life, I have seen men elected to office who accomplished a good deal of good and yet whose standards of public life were not very high, and they accomplished

it because they had a certain kindliness and consideration for their fellow citizens; and I have seen an administration, that of Mr. Seth Low—that accomplished comparatively little and did not endure to a very considerable degree, because Mr. Low, though one of the kindest and most considerate of men, had not learned how to meet men of different environment, who were the product of the common schools of the city, in such fashion that they understood him. Apparently he neither understood them nor did they understand him, and he had the reputation of being cold and aristocratic and aloof. I found him none of those things, and I think none of you would have found him any of those things. He was a most kindly and considerate man, considerate to all about him, and yet he had not learned how to approve his ideas of government to the people, because he did not know how to speak their language; and by that I do not mean that he should have descended to the language of the street, far from it; but his conduct was not such with the ordinary people of New York, as to approve the very worthy policies that he endeavored to further while he was mayor. Even during a recent administration in New York, there were many splendid and noble things that were attempted and many that were accomplished, and yet because, in various parts of the administration, persons were treated as though they were not public spirited, were treated as though their treasured ideals were of no consequence, crops of enemies were gathered up here, there and elsewhere. At the election that followed there were too many people who voted against certain persons for the very worthy things that had been done and the very worthy ambitions that were entertained, to be successful. Elections very commonly turn on antipathies rather than on positive policies.

An old friend of mine in New York who held public office a good while in a very hard position, that of tenement house commissioner, Mr. John J. Murphy, has suggested, half in jest, and half in seriousness, that for our city it might be well if, after a term of four years of our chief governing body, the board of estimate, we had an election in which the question should be determined whether the board of estimate should continue in office. If they were voted out, they could not be candidates again, we would have to have a new crop of candidates, and his theory is that if they were voted out, be they good or be they bad, we would start over again without antipathies, that the people would be disposed to vote *for* something and not *against* something. On the other hand, if the election turned out so that those who were in office remained in office, they would have the approval of the people for another period of years.

IV

There is another word I had in mind, besides democrat, that it seems to me we ought to save from the wreck of names, and that is "politician." I rather find fault with my friends who are typically represented here in this room, that they commonly use the term "politician" as an epithet of reproach. Now I conceive the politician as the man who has a worthy ideal in public life and then is skillful in accomplishing it. It is by no means sufficient to have a good platform and good intentions; if you make that platform and those intentions odious to the public, you have not achieved any very good object; you may have set back the cause of progress rather than have furthered it.

Men who have been elected to public office generally have some virtues. The fact that they were voted for by their fellow citizens is evidence that they have something in them that is worthwhile, and my experience is that men who have been elected to public office very, very rarely have sought that office without some worthy ambitions. They may be somewhat selfish; so are most of us; they may have sought the place for the salary; they may have sought it for the name; they may have further ambitions that they wish to satisfy, but they have some worthy object, and while they are there, the way to accomplish better results is to recognize the worthiness that they have and start with that as the foundation, and I think we err in misusing a very good word.

I know of no synonym, do you?

What would you call a man who is in public life, who is skillful in accomplishing the objects he seeks, and who has, in the main, good objects?

What would you call him?

I know of no term by which you can describe him better than to say that he is a skillful or an able or a useful politician. What you generally mean is that men favor persons who happen to belong to their political party who are unworthy of the place they seek or the thing they desire, and you say that was done for political reasons. It seems to me that that is to degrade a good term, and that behind it lies an idea that we are in danger of losing when we degrade our terms, when we lose words to describe things and no longer have a name for them, we are liable to lose the thing itself.

In my time, I have frequently been "researched." My first acquaintance with researchers was when I was in and they were out. I was, to some extent, well introduced, and was treated with what I regarded as reasonable consideration. I have no personal complaint, but I found that some men who were researching, were researching with the idea that their job was quite incompletely done unless they found something or other that was thoroughly discreditable, that would make good newspaper headlines when disclosed to the public. That attitude toward men in public life does not endear the researcher to those men who are being researched. You get farther and you get faster in improving the administration of public affairs where your counsel and advice are both good and welcome, where you seek to find the worthy things and develop them, and where you accord to those who have been elected or appointed to public position, the intent to accomplish worthy results. It is perhaps hardly fitting that I should preach a sermon to you gentlemen who, many of you, have had more experience than I, and yet I do feel very seriously that all of us need to put more life into these good ideas that are typified by the words "democrat" and "politician," and give them, so far as in us lies, a new and good meaning, so that thus we may further those things that all of us have at heart and which lie behind those good names.

THE GOOD VERSUS THE McCORMICK BUDGET BILL

A DEBATE AND A POLL OF THE RESEARCH BUREAUS ON THE ISSUE

BY W. F. WILLOUGHBY AND GAYLORD C. CUMMIN FOR THE GOOD BILL
BY CHARLES A. BEARD FOR THE McCORMICK BILL

The house of representatives has, by a practically unanimous vote, passed the Good bill described in our June, 1919, issue. The senate, however, centers its attention on the McCormick bill. The passage of either bill will constitute a most desirable reform and the passage of some bill seems assured. Which of the two bills should be favored? This issue, with others, was debated ably at the joint session of the National Municipal League and the American Political Science Association in Cleveland, December 30. We have allowed the leading opponents to revise that part of their arguments which dealt with this now pivotal issue and, with the co-operation of the Governmental Research Conference, have polled the directors of the principal bureaus of municipal research as seasoned budget technicians whose opinions deserve special weight. :: :: :: :: ::

FOR THE GOOD BILL

W. F. Willoughby

Director, Institute for Government Research, Washington

The McCormick bill differs radically from the Good bill in this respect; it makes the Secretary of the Treasury primarily the budget officer of the government, rather than the President. The Good bill recognized that it would be impossible for the President to discharge his duty of receiving all of the requests for appropriations that would come up from the spending services, to correlate them and to pass upon their desirability, unless he had an organ, an agency by which he could handle that business. At the present time he has no such office that would permit him to handle that business in any way. It may be a matter of surprise to you that the President's office is not an office of record; when the President leaves it at the end of his term, he takes with him all of the papers that are in the President's office. They are considered his personal papers, he leaves the walls and the files absolutely bare. The new President, therefore, comes in without any of the records or the machinery by which to pick up the administrative work of the government where his predecessor left off. I mention that as showing that the President has never, in the past, been looked upon really as the general manager of the business corporation; he has not any office and he has not any records.

THE PROPOSED BUDGET BUREAU

This budget bill of Chairman Good provides for the creation of an office

known as the bureau of the budget, that will be directly under the President. Its duty it will be, acting for the President, to keep in touch with all of the activities of the government, to be thoroughly informed of how the government is organized, to send out the requests for estimates of appropriations, to receive them, correlate them, compile them and bring to the attention of the President every issue that he really has to pass on. The bill makes it very emphatic—and this is an important point—that that bureau of the budget, with a director at the head of it, has itself no inherent powers; no powers are conferred upon it; all the powers are conferred upon the President, and the bureau is simply his executing agent. If the Good bill becomes law the President would, in effect, have two secretaries; he would have one like the President has at the present time who would be his political secretary, attend to all of his personal matters, his political matters with the outside world and the like; and he would have in his director of the bureau of the budget, an administrative secretary, who would handle for him, as his agent, all matters dealing with officers inside the government, thus giving him an opportunity to discharge the duties of a general manager.

THE MC CORMICK PROPOSAL

Now the McCormick bill differs radically from that, in that it makes the Treasury Department the budget organ: it provides that the estimates of appropriation shall go from the spending departments to the Secretary of the Treasury who shall have the authority to revise them, to eliminate the items that do not meet with his approval, and then send them to Congress.

WHY THE GOOD BILL IS BETTER

In my opinion—and this was a matter that the house select committee went into with a great deal of care—that would be a colossal blunder. The whole theory on which the budget rests is to hold the President personally and politically responsible for a work program, responsible for rendering a report as to how he carries out his duty and what he proposes. To vest this in the Secretary of the Treasury would divide that responsibility; it would give us two general managers; that is, it would give us the President with his general position of superior authority over administrative officers, and it would give us the Secretary of the Treasury exercising this general supervision over requests for appropriations. It would wholly defeat the aim of the budget of making it an issue to arouse the attention of the public by making it a political matter for which the President would stand.

The President is the only officer of the administrative branch that is elected and can be held politically responsible to the people; he is the only officer that is superior to every administrative officer in all respects; he is the only officer, therefore, that can give orders with the certainty that they will be obeyed by his subordinates. President Taft was asked, when he was testifying, what he thought about the proposal to have the Secretary of the Treasury compile the estimates. He said, in effect, "I can see the Secretary of the Treasury sitting at the cabinet table and telling the other members of the cabinet where they get off in respect to appropriations." It is perfectly certain that the Secretary of the Treasury, if he had that power, would exercise it in a perfunctory or timid manner.

In considering this problem, we are apt to concentrate our attention on the actual appropriation of money to meet expenditures. Now the really vital point is the authorization of the expenditure, that is, the authorization of the *activity* that gives rise to the need to make an expenditure. There is no proposal in the McCormick bill that the Secretary of the Treasury shall have *that* authority; the only officer who can have that authority is the President, and to have one manager saying what you shall do, and another one trying to pass on estimates to carry out those activities, is so illogical that it seems to me difficult to be supported.

THE QUESTION OF PRACTICALITY

There is one feature that gave rise to a great deal of trouble before the house committee, and that is whether it was going to be possible for the President, with all of his other preoccupations, effectively to discharge this new obligation. I think there can be very little doubt that he can.

In the first place, those of us at Washington who have had any opportunity in the past to see how things move actually on the spot, know that the President is not quite as busy a man as he is supposed to be. Of course I am not talking about war times but ordinary peace times. In ordinary times the President has abundant time.

In the second place, this bureau of the budget, if properly organized, would enable him effectively to discharge those obligations; its duties would not simply be performed at the end of a year after the estimates come in; its duties will be performed 365 days in the year; it will have all the charts and the outlines and the records of exactly how the government is organized, precisely what its activities are, its reports of revenues and expenditures, and be able to keep in intimate touch the same way as the general manager of any corporation and bring matters as need be to the attention of the President.

That certainly would be feasible, provided a phase of the budget that has received very little attention is worked out, and that phase is known as the technique of the budget.

THE TASK CAN BE SIMPLIFIED

At the present time our estimates defy intelligent examination. That is partly due to the form in which they go, and partly due to the form in which the appropriations are made. A budget ought to be, and if we had a bureau of the budget with a President with authority, it would be a highly classified document. Let me give an example. The procedure should be, the principle of the method of preparation should be, that of proceeding from the general to the particular, and primarily according to organization units. The President would say in effect, "Gentlemen of congress, I want six billion dollars to run the government. That total is made up of the following main items; so much for the legislative branch; so much for the executive branch; so much for the judicial branch; and so much for the administrative branch. The total for the administrative branch is made up of so much for the Department of State, so much for the Department of War, so much for the Department of the Navy, etc." Then supporting sheets would pick up the total for each department and indicate so much for each bureau, like the bureau of fisheries or navigation or steamboat inspection or whatever the bureau was, which would

bring together in one place the entire estimate of expenditures for each one of those bureaus; then, itemized under each bureau might be sub-items of so much for each of the activities performed. If properly classified in that way, it would be possible for anybody to push their inquiries as far as they wanted. They could stop with the one figure, six billion dollars, or if they wanted to, they could push it down through one supporting statement after another to the final details of what is required to operate a lighthouse at Portsmouth, for example. A systematic presentation like this would make it possible for the President to discharge his duty effectively and make it possible for congress intelligently to perform its duties.

FOR THE McCORMICK BILL

CHARLES A. BEARD

Director, Bureau of Municipal Research, New York

On the question of the location of the budget bureau, I support the proposition that it should be in the Treasury Department, or rather that the Secretary of the Treasury should be transformed into the chief financial officer of the United States.

THE PRESIDENT'S TIME

My reasons are two-fold; first, that the President of the United States has enough to do without making the budget. Now it may be that Mr. Taft, who was a very leisurely gentleman, did have plenty of time on his hands as President of the United States, but I beg to suggest that if he had devoted more attention to the study of American public questions, he might have been a more effective President and might not have had the accident that happened to him in 1912. Also, if Mr. Wilson had studied European affairs a little more closely, we should not have dallied with German imperialism until the spring of 1917; and perhaps might not have had the Treaty of Versailles that is yet unratified. But I pass those things by with the mere suggestion that the President of the United States is the President of a hundred million people and responsible in actual practice for the formulation of our leading legislative measures and under a moral obligation to study all the economic questions that press upon the national government. He has enough to do without turning himself into a national accountant to review all the items that go into the budget. Therefore I do not want to impose upon him this obligation of assuming in detail the responsibilities. It is true that large questions of taxation and expenditure will be reviewed by him necessarily, but I mean we should put aside the thought of transforming the President of the United States into a business manager. I have all respect for a business manager, but the President of the United States has other obligations, great questions of statesmanship and public policy that have no relation to the management of men and materials.

In the second place, if the Secretary of the Treasury is made chief budget officer, the President will in fact be responsible for his primary policy, because he can appoint and dismiss the Secretary of the Treasury and therefore will, in effect, assume responsibility for the main policies of the budget.

Indeed, the President might very well present the budget to congress as his own document even though it comes from the Department of the Treasury.

Finally, my last point is based upon the experience I have had in New York city in watching the actual operations connected with the making of a budget. It is a prosaic job in the main, a very prosaic job. Under the Mitchel administration we had from a hundred and fifty to three hundred accountants, engineers and specialists continually employed in a study of the budget, the preparation of the estimates, the review of the estimates, and the presentation of the consolidated budget. They worked all the year around; they had to use the payrolls, the vouchers, the ledgers, the registers, etc., of the various departments of the city.

DUPLICATION OF ORGANIZATION

All such documents of the federal government now are in the Treasury Department, or ought to be; that is the center, the focal point for information and administration. Into the treasury the money flows; out of the treasury the money flows into the million rivulets that constitute the budget in operation. Now, to create a separate budget bureau, with all the data it should have to make the budget effective, you are going to duplicate the records that are or should be in the Treasury Department of the United States. For that reason, it seems to me, we should, just as a practical proposition, put the budget under the charge of the treasury. The mastering the details of the budget, of all budgets, I say again, is a very prosaic, business-like job. It involves taking up every one of thousands of details, such as a request for a hundred lead pencils from the Department of State, two hundred cakes of soap for the bureau of education; four hundred pounds of a certain grade of paper for the Department of War, etc., and so on all through a million,—I don't know how many,—a hundred million little details that go into the making up of the budget, when you get right down to brass tacks. Budget making requires the reviewing of each one of these requests and discovering whether it is based upon a need. The original basic information is in the details of the expenditures of the previous year. There is your starting point, finding out whether those expenditures were well made. We need to develop a big department of finance, and I think it ought to be the Treasury Department, and we ought to conceive it as a big job that calls for managerial experience and ability of the highest order. We might very well make the Secretary of the Treasury a business manager in the sense that he should study the requirements of the departments in terms of men and materials.

Just one more point in that connection; Dr. Willoughby stated that, after all—I want to get his exact language—the budget bureau will "bring to the attention of the President every issue that he really has to pass upon." I wonder whether Dr. Willoughby has considered all the implications in that remark? The controversies in budget making, as those of us who have had trifling experience in municipalities know, are innumerable; they get down to questions of lead pencils and soap and coal and supplies and clerks and stenographers. We have had in New York city the representatives of the budget making bureaus continually at loggerheads with the departments. The heads of departments have to go to the mayor of the city and complain against the action of the representatives of the budget making agencies continually, and when you get right down to cases,

if the budget bureau is in the President's office, it will not have the responsibility, the publicity, the position before the nation, which the Secretary of the Treasury would have. It will be the chief center of petty negotiations over clerks and soap and supplies and materials. The President cannot be bothered with all of these matters, and your budget making officer will, in the final analysis, decide them, unless the head of the department takes it to the President and makes an issue out of it. I would like to ask this assembly what will be the action of the President of the United States when the Secretary of War or the Secretary of the Navy comes to him and says, "Your budget officer won't allow me $25.00 for this or $75.00 for that or $1000.00, or $25,000.00 for the other." Will the President take it up in every case? No; and let that go on for a few days or a few weeks, and in a little while, if the President decides against the officer, the officer will be so irritated over picayune details of expenditures, that he will tell the President to take his job. He will go back home and practice law or do something else.

That is the way I visualize your budget officer at the President's back door, doling out dollars and cents worth of supplies and material, and I believe it would be far better to have the Secretary of the Treasury responsible.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON'S IDEA

By the way, that was the ideal of Alexander Hamilton, that was the ideal with which we started out, that the Secretary of the Treasury would be the responsible financial officer. He was instructed in the beginning to bring before congress estimates of expenditures and of revenues, and, as you know, the great report which he prepared—the first report on public credit—he wanted to defend before congress in person. I am sorry that the opposition to Hamilton, based largely on factious grounds, prevented him from establishing that excellent custom. I believe we would be going back to a sound precedent if we should make the Secretary of the Treasury the responsible officer for the business management of the government and let him stand before the whole country as such.

When he would go into the cabinet, if dispute should arise there, I believe the Secretary of War or the Secretary of the Navy would far rather conduct a dispute over an expenditure with a colleague in the cabinet than he would with a budget clerk who is likely to be an accountant and not as conversant as the Secretary of the Treasury with the larger questions of policy which involve the success of the administration. What is fifty million dollars compared with the success of an administration, if it has at heart some large public policy it wants to carry out? Often we are willing to sacrifice on the business side of government to get some ideals translated into action.

For these reasons, I believe that the Secretary of the Treasury should be made our chief financial officer. He should be transformed into a managerial officer, supplied with ample funds. He should present his budget to the President and let the President stand for as much of it as he likes. The Secretary of the Treasury can then decide, if the President rules against him, on vital matters whether he wants to stay or not. Let them have it out in the cabinet and come to a final agreement about the budget. Then the President should present the budget in a message. That is the way

I feel; I don't get very excited about it; I should not want the dispute over the location of the budget bureau to defeat a bill. If I had my choice between no bill and the Good bill, I would choose the Good bill, but I hope that congress will pass the senate bill, which makes the Secretary of the Treasury the responsible financial officer.

FOR THE GOOD BILL

GAYLORD C. CUMMINS

Ex City Manager Grand Rapids, Mich.

I think it a fundamental mistake to view the budget as a financial measure. It is a financial measure simply incidentally. Your budget is your program of work, it is your administrative program, and the administrative program is up to the President, the chief executive officer, and not up to any financial man. The finances are entirely matters of detail and purely incidental, and the total amount in your budget should not be fixed by your estimated revenues but by your estimated needs, which is an administrative thing and not a financial thing. You should not take the amount of revenue you raised last year and say, "Our budget cannot exceed that, no matter what our needs are." You have got to take your needs first, get them to the point where you are sure they *are* needs, and then dig up enough revenue to carry them into effect. What does our government exist for? To give service, not simply to cut down expenditures or to spend money; that is an important part of the program, but it is incidental to taking care of the needs.

Now your administrative program certainly does not belong with the Secretary of the Treasury; it belongs with the chief executive.

As far as overburdening the chief executive with work is concerned, I do not care how much work he has; it is partly a matter of organization. I do not expect him to get down with a lot of ledger sheets and a pen and figure out these details, but he can have under him the men responsible for drawing up the detailed budget and the President himself is strictly responsible for that budget when finally presented, and not any one else. The necessity for those detailed expenditures does not have to be worked out and threshed out with the President; in fact I think in a good deal of our budget making there has been entirely too much fighting about whether a department shall have 15 or 16 cakes of soap. I think that is mostly foolishness and generally results in people spending their time on petty little details and letting some big thing slide by. I think it is far more important to spend time on the important and the big items in the budget and the big needs laid down there than on the number of slate pencils and cakes of soap and things of that kind a department shall have. It is perfectly true that you can absolutely submerge the officer charged with making a budget with a whole lot of detail that does not amount to anything, but that is not necessary. The one thing necessary with a budget system is to have a minimum of brains in carrying it out, and that is to be expected, a minimum of brains.

FOR THE GOOD BILL

W. F. Willoughby Sums Up

A BUDGET IS A PROGRAM

It is perfectly evident that Professor Beard in thinking about this problem has directed his attention so largely to the purely mechanical features of budget making, the determination of how much soap, how many lead pencils, etc., as Professor Beard expresses it, shall be given to an institution, that he has almost wholly overlooked the larger political and general administrative principles that are involved. He has certainly failed to appreciate the facts that the problem of preparing a budget for submission to the legislature involves the two distinct though intimately related factors of determining, first, a work program and, second, the amount of money that should be granted for carrying out this program. He has apparently considered only the second phase of the problem. He appears to visualize the task of budget making as little more than that of passing upon estimates of expenditures as they originate in the administrative services for the purpose of seeing where cuts and reductions might be made. His remarks show but little appreciation of the fact that the really fundamental responsibility of the officer charged with the duty of preparing and submitting a budget to the legislature is the direct affirmative one of formulating and recommending a work program. Such a program it must be evident can only properly emanate from the head of the administration, the President, or, in the case of our states, the governor.

FORKING THE LINES OF RESPONSIBILITY

The proposal to vest in the Secretary of the Treasury the duty of passing upon requests for appropriations must in effect divide responsibility for the administration of public affairs between two officers, the President and the Secretary of the Treasury. It means that the government shall have two general managers, one of whom shall determine what shall be done and the other what financial provision shall be made for carrying on this work.

I am aware that to this the reply will be made that the Secretary of the Treasury is an appointee of the President and that as such the President is responsible for all of his acts. This is true as a legal proposition. In practical operation, however, the vesting by law of the duty of formulating a budget upon the Secretary of the Treasury creates a condition where, not only officers of the government, but the general public, will deem him to be the officer primarily responsible for the budget. Under that system it is inevitable that the responsibility of the President will be looked upon as secondary if not perfunctory. It will almost inevitably tend to defeat one of the primary ends that the establishment of a budgetary system has in view, that of making the submission of a budget the most important political act of the chief executive. It was repeatedly stated by members of the house select committee on the budget that efficiency and economy in the administration of public affairs will not be secured until the voters of the country demand it. The only way in which such a demand can be brought into existence is by compelling the chief administrative officer, who, in the case of the national government is the President, to assume direct and personal responsibility for a work program, for

proposals by which this program is to be financed, and the organization and methods of administration to be employed in its execution. It is practically certain that if the duty of preparing the budget is placed upon the Secretary of the Treasury the tendency will be for the President to accept the action of his subordinate, to shift the responsibility for such budget to such officer, and thus to destroy in large part, in the eyes of the public at least, his own direct personal responsibility. The situation, in a word, will not be much better than it is at the present time, since as is well known the President is now, in theory at least, responsible for the acts of all of his appointees.

Professor Beard has rather stressed the impossibility of the President giving any personal attention to the scrutiny of the estimates as prepared by the administrative services. Of course it is absurd on the face of it to think that the President with the stub of a lead pencil or in any other way is going to concern himself with those details. It is equally absurd to think that the Secretary of the Treasury is going to do any such work. Under both the Good bill and the McCormick bill this work will be done by a technical budget bureau and the introduction of that sort of comment tends to becloud the issue.

THE EFFECT OF TRADITION

The McCormick bill is framed upon the theory of seeking to give to our Secretary of the Treasury a status similar to that of the Chancellor of the Exchequer of Great Britain. Were it possible to achieve any such end I would feel inclined heartily to support the proposition. I am persuaded, however, that any such attempt is futile. The status of the British Chancellor of the Exchequer as an officer superior in authority in respect to both administrative and financial matters over his colleagues in the cabinet is one that he has as the result of hundreds of years of established convention. He has back of him an unbroken tradition of hundreds of years. Our Secretary of the Treasury has no such tradition. There is no possibility at this time of erecting the Secretary of the Treasury into an officer whose right to pass upon and revise the proposal of his cabinet colleagues will be acquiesced in by the latter. President Taft was most emphatic in his testimony on this point before the house committee on the budget and his testimony was strongly supported by other administrative officers such as ex-Secretary of War Stimson, the Assistant Secretary of the Navy Roosevelt and the Comptroller of the Treasury, Judge W. W. Warwick and others. If anything is certain it is that if the power to revise estimates is vested in the Secretary of the Treasury he will exercise that power only in a timid and perfunctory manner. If he attempts anything more discord in the cabinet will be engendered. There is but one administrative officer who is superior to all other administrative officers in the government and that is the President. He, and he alone, can lay down the law to other administrative officers with the assurance that his decisions will be acquiesced in. He, and he alone, is the only administrative officer who can be held politically responsible for his program. Anything that will tend to lessen in any degree the directness of this responsibility will weaken the effectiveness of a budget system in its practical operations. It is imperative that we shall place the President in a position where he is compelled to go before the country with a plain statement that: "This is my administrative program for the ensuing year; upon it I wish to be judged; and upon it I am willing to stand."

THE POLL OF THE RESEARCH BUREAUS

For the Good bill 6
For the McCormick bill 2

Omitting the N. Y. Bureau of Municipal Research, Dr. Beard, who has defended the McCormick bill in the foregoing pages and the Institute of Government Research, Dr. Willoughby, who has defended the Good bill.

1. FOR THE GOOD BILL

FREDERICK P. GRUENBERG

Director, Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research

An outstanding feature of the McCormick proposal is the one that would take from the Treasury Department all organizations in it not having to do with finance, e.g., The U. S. Public Health Service, Coast Guard, Secret Service, etc. That these administrative units have no place in the financial department of the government would appear to be obvious, yet all of them have been under the treasury since their organization, and up until the creation of the Department of Commerce and Labor some years ago that department also had charge of immigration. This highly commendable feature of shearing the Treasury Department of these non-fiscal activities does not appear in the Good bill.

Reverting to the purely budget provisions, we find that the Good bill provides for the creation of a bureau of the budget in the office of the President, while the McCormick bill makes the Secretary of the Treasury a "Minister of Finance" whose function it will be to prepare the budget for the administration.

If the non-financial activities are to remain in the Treasury Department, it seems to me that the budget functions should without question be placed in the hands of an official directly under the President, but if the Treasury Department is made what it was doubtless originally intended to be, the purely custodial and financial branch of the government, there is room for the view that it would make no vital difference whether the Secretary of the Treasury or an official under the President were the budget officer. The budget is so vast an undertaking and involves so much in the way of policy as well as mere dollars and cents, that the Good scheme would appear to be better. The arguments on this point are (1) continuous collation of information and material by a specialized staff free from administrative (line) duties, and (2) direct, instead of indirect, presidential responsibility. In either case, the President would ultimately be answerable to congress and to the nation, of course, for the work program and the financial program submitted in the administration's budget but the McCormick plan is less direct.

The main thing is that the principle should be recognized of having the executive responsible for initiating programs and that means be devised for eliminating "pork," overlapping, inefficient spending, and all similar forms of extravagance, waste and inefficiency. The experience of democracies has shown that the principle of having the administration answerable to the legislative body on a program

which it prepares and for which it assumes responsibility, is the one best calculated to secure effective and responsible government, and that we should so long continue ignoring this principle will be a matter of amazement to the historian and political scientist of the future.

2. FOR THE GOOD BILL

LENT D. UPSON

Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research

Discussion of the McCormick-Good budget bills has turned largely on the question of whether the Department of the Treasury or the President should be responsible for the collection and preparation of departmental estimates for submission to congress.

It is argued by supporters of the McCormick measure that the Treasury Department is currently in possession of financial information and is equipped with collection machinery that would be needlessly duplicated by the creation of a budget bureau immediately subordinate to the President. It is also advanced that the President is too fully engaged with important affairs to be considered in the details of financing public activities.

However, the real purpose of a budget is not the mere estimating of available revenues, and their allocation to this or that object of expenditure, but is to determine public needs in the order of their urgency and cast about for means of financing them. Obviously such a duty rests initially upon the President, who may recommend to congress through the budget the policies he believes of first importance. Certainly such a duty should not be exercised, even to the extent of advising the President, by the Treasury Department, coequal with the other departments. Incidentally, the President may find more time to consider estimates than is generally assumed.

In the end, however, probably either bill will provide the machine for producing a budget from the President's side. The most important question is not the relative merits of these two bills, but whether congress is going to prescribe budget making for the President and continue its own present practices, designed to undo any advantage obtained through the proposed legislation.

3. FOR THE GOOD BILL

F. L. OLSON

Director, Bureau of Municipal Research, Minneapolis

The vital consideration in the National budget debate is the needs of the country for a sound basis on which to determine the raising of revenues and the expenditure of those revenues to accomplish a program of work rather than the particular method through which this budget system is to be accomplished. If the senate insists on making the matter a political football in order to insure no action, the house might better give in so far as the location of the budget bureau is concerned.

I still believe as firmly as before reading the McCormick bill and arguments upon it, that the budget bureau belongs in the President's office in charge of a person independent of any member of the President's cabinet. The only means by which the Secretary of the Treasury can be raised above the position of competitor with heads of other departments, is to clothe him with additional powers that would really make a new and very powerful position out of this cabinet office; a sort of minister of finance. The power should be so great as to make this position one of the most, if not the *most*, outstanding position in the official family of the President and in the influence of the administration.

However, the location of the budget bureau can be waived without stultifying oneself on the whole budget question, providing it can bring together those who are more concerned with political party prestige in having put over the budget, than they are in the soundness of any particular theory of handling the budget problem. Hence, my position is this: I favor at present the Good bill, particularly because of its location of the budget bureau in the President's office. I am in hearty sympathy with the McCormick bill in its attempt to make the Secretary of the Treasury something greater than he is now (at least so I understand is the intention of that bill), but the primary thing to accomplish is a budget system with the intention of guaranteeing a financial program and holding someone responsible, not only for the program in its method of determination, but in the results accomplished under it. Therefore, if the two groups can waive disputed points and arrive at an agreement so that the country may assure itself of a budget system, I feel certain the public will support whatever decision they may arrive at with regard to the location of the Budget Bureau.

4. FOR THE GOOD BILL

R. E. Miles

Director, Ohio Institute for Public Efficiency

The real difference between the proposals of the McCormick and the Good bills, if thoroughly analyzed, goes deeper than mere administrative convenience. Two fundamental functions are involved: (1) the recommendation of governmental policy as far as reflected in budgetary proposals to be submitted for legislative action; (2) administrative supervision over the exercise of all functions of the executive branch of the government, under conditions approved by legislative action.

Discussion has been directed more to the former than to the latter. It has perhaps not been sufficiently emphasized (1) that both are essential to a budget system; (2) that the two functions are so closely related that they can best be exercised through the same medium or staff; and (3) that they are peculiarly the prerogatives of the chief executive as the head of the whole executive branch.

The President can, in my opinion, most successfully perform these functions, and can on the other hand be most successfully held responsible for their proper performance, if he is provided with an agency independent of all the great operating departments, completely under his control, and under a head who in effect should be

a second or third vice-president in charge of administrative investigation. It may well be maintained that the treasury department should be as much subject to independent question and review as the other principal departments.

Such a plan of course assumes a corresponding organization in the legislative branch which would prevent the latter from being placed at a disadvantage in its dealings with executive proposals, and which would enable the legislative branch to exercise its functions of scrutiny and criticism with intelligence and effectiveness.

5. FOR THE GOOD BILL

GARDINER LATTIMER

Director, Public Research Bureau, Toledo

The trustees of the Commerce club went on record as favoring the Good bill and as strongly opposing the provisions of the McCormick bill. It was felt that one of the essential features of a satisfactory National budget was the centralizing of responsibility for it in the hands of the only person really responsible, viz., the President.

To make the Secretary of the Treasury responsible for the budgets of co-ordinate departments seems to us obviously unsound.

The U. S. Chamber of Commerce made a careful study of this question and reported as favorable to the Good bill though hoping that even this might be improved upon in some particulars.

Our trustees approved the report of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce upon recommendation of the public research bureau.

6. FOR THE GOOD BILL

HAROLD L. HENDERSON

Director, Citizens' Bureau of Municipal Efficiency, Milwaukee

My preference is for the Good bill rather than for the McCormick bill. I realize that neither bill gives us all that one would wish in developing a real budget system, but these things are a matter of evolution and we can only hope for the best. At least a start is being made. I realize that it may be difficult to arouse public opinion a year or two hence in order to correct some of the very apparent defects in the present Good bill.

In answer to the particular question relative to the budget bureau directly under the President, I am emphatically in favor of it. There may be some duplication of records as suggested by Mr. Lill in the National Municipal Review, but a President would be absolutely helpless in preparing a budget if he did not have a staff directly responsible to him who would be primarily interested in informing him as to the departmental requests, plans for revenue, etc.

It might be stated that the controller general would give the President this information. However, the controller general would be giving like information to congress and would not be primarily interested in the problem from the President's standpoint. The

staff of the Budget Bureau would aid in checking up not only the departmental requests as well as the statement of controller general, and thus result in a much clearer statement of all the facts.

If the Treasury Department should prepare the budget as suggested in the McCormick bill, the President would be absolutely helpless in arriving at any independent conclusions as to the various requests of the departments. He would necessarily have to accept the Treasurer's recommendations and no doubt the President would neglect his duty in reviewing these various requests. The budget could then hardly be called an executive budget or one by which the President would care to stand or fall before the public opinion of the country.

7. FOR THE McCORMICK BILL

ROBERT E. TRACY

Director, Bureau of Governmental Research, Indianapolis

In my opinion neither the Good bill nor the McCormick bill is exactly what the country needs, but as between the two, the McCormick bill is by far the more satisfactory. The Good bill, as I see it, is merely a sublimated sample of the book of estimates, and frankly admits that we should have a real budget some time, but not now. It loads on to an already overworked chief executive another activity which might better be borne by a subordinate, and the McCormick bill by placing the budget bureau under the Secretary of the Treasury, does a wise thing. The McCormick bill describes the method for organizing this bureau, while the Good bill does not. Under the McCormick bill no estimate can go into the budget without the sanction of the Treasury, and ways and means are provided for ironing out the estimates well in advance of their submission to congress. In my opinion, the senate bill will tend to make the Secretary of the Treasury what he was in the days of Alexander Hamilton, a real minister of finance.

I cannot agree with what Dr. Willoughby said at Cleveland, when he stated that the McCormick bill would make the President "responsible for the budget only in a nebulous, indirect way." The Secretary of the Treasury is appointed by the President and is directly responsible to him. I cannot see here any indirection. In fact, the Secretary of the Treasury is the logical man for this work.

I agree with Congressman Frear, who says that the Good bill "bears on more resemblance to a real budget than an umbrella bears to a flying machine."

8. FOR THE McCORMICK BILL

JAMES W. ROUTH

Director, Bureau of Municipal Research, Rochester

Personally, I favor the McCormick rather than the Good bill. It seems to me that the Secretary of the Treasury is the logical officer to assume responsibility, under the direction of the President, for the preparation of

the budget. To infer that the President would not be responsible for the budget if the Secretary of the Treasury were burdened with its preparation seems altogether illogical. Certainly the secretary is the President's appointee as surely as would be the head of a budget bureau. He also is as readily removable at the President's pleasure. We have a recent example to prove this, and the importance attached by our present chief executive to loyalty and unanimity of purpose on the part of the members of his official family.

If the work of budget making were placed in a separate budget bureau, there would result a duplication of records and machinery in that bureau and the Treasury Department, with no apparent benefit. There would be created a new position which, to all intents and purposes, would be that of private financial secretary to the President. The framers of the Constitution contemplated that the Secretary of the Treasury would be the nation's financial minister and the President's personal and official adviser on all matters having to do with finance. It seems better to revert, therefore, to the original conception of that officer's duties than to set up a new position to divide responsibility with him and further to confuse his real function. Budget making, control of expenditures, and financial policies, are so closely interwoven that it seems almost ridiculous to attempt a separation of them. Our country's financial problems are of sufficient importance to warrant the attention of a properly qualified cabinet minister.

The budget itself is a most important document. It seems obvious that the government's financial secretary should be closely identified with its preparation. The executive departments of the government are all intimately concerned in the budget, and the budget should be based upon the work programs of those departments. This means that the heads of the several departments, the members of the President's cabinet, must be taken into consultation when the budget is prepared. The President himself cannot and should not be expected to have intimate acquaintance with the details of departmental programs and expenditures. As a matter of course, the larger problems of policy must be referred to the President, but even then, if he is a competent executive, he will desire the advice of the members of his cabinet who may have more intimate acquaintance with facts and details than he himself. It would appear that the President might find it much more agreeable and satisfactory to rely upon the judgment of a cabinet minister than upon that of a subordinate clerk or private secretary in a matter so important as the national budget.

Another thought of less importance is this. It is hard to picture the members of the President's cabinet discussing their plans and the needs of their departments with the head of a budget bureau attached to the President's office. The Secretary of the Treasury could meet the other cabinet members as a colleague and discuss these matters with them on a plane of equality. This perhaps may appear unimportant, but I feel sure there would exist a continual source of irritation if budget matters were left in the hands of a clerk or secretary of lesser caliber than a cabinet officer.

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

I. BOOK REVIEWS

THE LABOR SITUATION IN GREAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE. Report of the Commissioner on Foreign Inquiry of the National Civic Federation. New York: E. P. Dutton & Company, 1919. Pp. 443.

The volume begins with a brief foreword by the chairman of the commission, Charles Mayer, and a short statement as to the personnel and methods of the commission by its secretary, E. A. Quarles. The commission was in England from February to June, 1919, except for three weeks spent in France.

Part 1 (pp. 19–98), the labor problem in Great Britain from the public viewpoint, was written by a member of the New York bar, Mr. Andrew Parker Nevin, for many years general counsel for the National Association of Manufacturers. Mr. Nevin believes that the Sankey report on the coal situation was generally acceptable to the English people. In that report the present system of coal mining and the conditions surrounding the workers were sharply criticised and a demand made for nationalization of the mines or some other method of control. Mr. Nevin thinks that the "radical group in England is relatively much stronger than in the United States," that it has greater intellectual vigor and represents "an economically intellectualized protest." He considers the Whitley plan an "important and helpful factor in the re-establishment of British industrial production." As Mr. Nevin views the English situation, labor is demanding a new status. Employers are sympathetic but find many of labor's demands impossible. The situation is compelling the attention of the government but the outcome of the issues between labor and the government is uncertain. The author does not attempt to make any application to American conditions.

Part 2, varying forms of labor organization, methods and purposes in the United States, Great Britain and France, women in industry (pp. 99–316), were written by Mr. James W. Sullivan of the American Federation of Labor. The reviewer considers this section the best account of the labor situation in England written by a labor union man that he has seen. Mr. Sullivan clearly depicts the existing organization of labor in England, its various divisions, its political activity, accompanying this with brief mention of the leaders. He makes many interesting comments on American conditions, though he finds little in English methods applicable to the United States and is very critical of labor's political activity. He emphasizes the conflict within the labor group and points out the problems arising from the leadership of men not closely identified with the group. He devotes but little space to France, but gives an excellent summary of the situation, showing how entirely different the labor movement there is from that in America. The latter part of his report he devotes to women in industry, showing the development in England during war time and the problems remaining, such as the determination of a fair wage between men and women. The reviewer regrets that space limitations prevent an exposition of the many points brought out.

Mr. Albert Farwell Bemis, a Boston manufacturer, writes parts 3 and 4. In part 3 (pp. 317–364) he speaks of the social and industrial relations in Great Britain and America from the viewpoint of the employer. He begins by emphasizing the destruction of capital during the war and then notes the awakening in England to the use of applied science in industry and the resulting effort to revise educational programs. Collective bargaining he considers the accepted British policy. In France, he finds a "union's combination of individualism and communism." Six million landed proprietors out of a total population of 40,000,000, is striking, but the French labor movement is distinctly socialistic.

In part 4—housing and agricultural reconstruction in Great Britain and France (pp. 365–429), Mr. Bemis draws a vivid picture of the inadequate and unsatisfactory housing accommodations in England and tells of the private and public reform movements. Then he shows the very different condition in France resulting from the destruction of over 400,000 houses during the war and suggests that American credits may be the only solution. He pays little attention to the agricultural problems.

The National Civic Federation is to be congratulated on having published a volume of real

merit and in having made accessible to students so much valuable information.

CARL KELSEY.[1]

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TEACHERS' PENSION SYSTEMS IN THE UNITED STATES. By Paul Studensky. New York: D. Appleton & Company. Pp. xx and 460.

This critical and descriptive study of an important problem is issued in the series of studies of administration prepared under the auspices of the institute for government research. Its author, the supervisor of staff of the New Jersey bureau of state research, has made a deep study of the whole subject of pension systems and has had extended experience in their development. He has prepared this volume with a view to giving the scientific knowledge essential to the establishment of a sound pension system for teachers. Treating the subject in the broad sense of the protection of employes and their dependents against the contingencies of old age, and tracing the evolution of pensions from the paternalistic to the democratic co-operative systems, Mr. Studensky has advanced fundamental facts and conclusions which apply to the pension problem in any branch of public service or private industry. He has, therefore, done a piece of work that will prove not only of interest to all teachers who are so vitally concerned in this problem, but of invaluable assistance to all persons seeking to reform existing pension systems or to establish new ones.

The importance of public pensions as a problem of efficient public administration, as Mr. Studensky reminds us, has for years been recognized, and many solutions have been attempted. Yet, he asserts, of nearly one hundred teachers' retirement systems now in operation in the United States, involving nearly half of all public school teachers, with assets approximately half a billion dollars, only a few can escape total collapse unless fundamentally altered. Not only must these systems be reorganized on an equitable and sound financial basis, but, in addition, states and localities still unprovided for must be put in the sound-pension-system class, before the problem is properly cleared up. Anything short of this disregards the standards of equity and humanity, and is bad from the standpoint of general social betterment. On the side of efficiency, next to an adjustment of teachers' salaries with relation to the decreased purchasing power of a dollar, a universal, sound pension system would perhaps do more than any other thing to attract more competent people, in greater numbers, to the teaching profession.

Mr. Studensky has divided his subject into two parts. In the first, treating pensions as a problem, he has reviewed the development of teachers' pension systems in the United States, and discussed the factors which go to make up the problem, following this with a discussion of the various kinds of benefits to be provided for —superannuation, disability, death, and withdrawal; methods of determining and apportioning the cost of benefits, and the questions of participation and management. In the second part, which analyzes typical teachers' pension systems of to-day, he has arranged his analysis comparatively, considering systems without reserves, those with inadequate reserves, and those of a better order that have been adopted.

An appendix contains statistical data, copies of laws providing sound pension systems, actuarial tables, a bibliography, and an index. These add considerably to the utility of Mr. Studensky's very commendable work.

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MOTION PICTURES AS A PHASE OF COMMERCIALIZED AMUSEMENT IN TOLEDO, OHIO. By Rev. J. J. Phelan, Ph.D. Toledo: Little Book Press. Pp. 292.

Dr. Phelan, in pursuance of his studies in the commercialized amusements of Toledo, has followed up his book on pool, billiards and bowling, with the present one on motion pictures. As in the previous volume, he has not attempted to attack or defend the subject of his investigation, or to impose any formulated set of conclusions on his readers; rather he has aimed to gather and arrange all available social data and usually to allow his readers to make their own interpretation. The book presents the results of two years' personal investigation, the data being revised from time to time as the information warranted.

The physical features of Toledo's moving picture industry are shown in section one. These include the number and location of picture theatres; their proximity to dance halls, rooming houses, and saloons; ownership; sanitary and fire conditions; the value of buildings and equipment; the cost of lighting, heating, and taxes; and statistics of attendance. Where physical conditions are good, the author says

[1] University of Pennsylvania.

so; where they are bad, he tells dispassionately why and to what extent. Where it is pertinent, Dr. Phelan uses supplementary sources of information, as in the instance of the statement of the juvenile court of Toledo that of the 400 children each month who come before the court for investigation, at least 50 per cent receive suggestions for evil at the "movies."

In section two, on mental effects and educational significance, the author presents data from school surveys not only in Toledo, but in Providence, Cleveland, Portland (Oregon), and San Francisco, to show the almost universal extent to which school children habitually frequent moving picture theatres, and the character of pictures that most interest and impress them. There is also in this section a division given to an analysis of the work of the Ohio board of censorship, the national board of censorship, and voluntary efforts at local censorship, together with a descriptive list of agencies interested in educational films.

A great deal of valuable data is contained in the third section of the book, devoted to the moral and physical effects of motion pictures. Following a presentation of the good and bad effects in general, with examples suggested by local observations, an outline of regulations for improving conditions is suggested, and the development of the regulatory system of Portland, Oregon, is described.

The fourth and fifth sections of the book contain respectively a description of non-commercialized amusements in Toledo, and a number of appendices. The value of these sections might have been increased by more thorough assimilation.

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A Primer of Civics. By J. J. Zmrhal. Chicago: Illinois Society of the Colonial Dames of America. Pp. 61.

This book is the outcome of the author's desire (himself an immigrant from Bohemia in his boyhood) to enlighten and instruct other pilgrims from the Old World in the ideals and inspirations of his adopted country. Written and first printed in the author's own tongue, the book was afterwards published in Polish and Lithuanian translations, and the present edition appears in English and Italian on opposite pages.

The book is a primer as its name indicates. The first half deals with the rights and duties of citizens, explaining the qualifications for and progressive steps of naturalization; the function of the vote; and the fabric of national, state, and city government, from the office of president to that of alderman, and from the functions of congress to those of the local health department. The second half of the book contains an outline of American history. The author has succeeded well in making the book inspirational as well as informing.

II. REVIEWS OF REPORTS

The Traction Crisis in New York, by Charles A. Beard, presents a sketch of the predicament in which the city of New York finds itself today concerning a vital service, without which a modern city is not able to carry on its normal activities and functions for even a day. It is not a pleasing picture to contemplate. It is, nevertheless, a picture that with slight modifications can be drawn for almost all large American cities.

The author apparently holds the belief that regulation of public service utilities by commissions has been to the advantage of the public; also that such principles, conditions and terms as have been embodied in the Chicago settlement ordinance of 1907 are to the city's interest and satisfactory to the public.

It is, however, the almost universal complaint that state regulating commissions have been unduly generous to the corporations and that the public has gained little or nothing except the obligation to foot the bills. The Chicago settlement ordinance of 1907 has resulted in some gain over the old intolerable conditions preceding that date. Had the city not thrown away the opportunity of pressing home municipal ownership at that time, it would not now have a surface line problem and be paying a six-cent fare for intolerable service. Under the terms of the contract, the city would now have to pay, to purchase second-hand property, about three times what it is actually worth. This same property has been bonded for more than double what it is worth; and the end is not yet. The city has been jobbed and cheated on the one hand and the honest bond investor on the other

One can hardly wish the results of the much advertised and widely heralded Chicago 1907 settlement to be the portion of any other city or any honest investor. An attorney once remarked to the writer that the English language was not susceptible of framing an ordinance or franchise that a utility company would not violate.

It might well have been pointed out that one of the fundamental factors leading up to the present financial difficulties is the fact that traction utility concerns have rarely paid their debts or provided adequate sinking or depreciation funds. The business has been in the main essentially speculative. Regardless of prosperity and good earnings, nearly everything above operating expense, maintenance and bond interest has gone into dividends and disappeared in the pockets of the speculators and exploiters.

A plea is made for the honest investors. And it is quite right that they should be considered and looked after to a degree, but it is the old story of the widows and orphans. To what extent should the general public concern itself with the losses of those who have been sold the "gold bricks?" The gold brick "artists" and those who corrupted and still corrupt our political, financial and social life and institutions, for private profit are the ones who should long since have received our attention. In clearing up the messes that have been left by our traction financiers, it can hardly be expected that the general public should make good the losses to those who have been exploited or robbed.

As the author shows, New York city has some very serious difficulties to overcome in arriving at a settlement of its traction problem—diverse interests of different companies, claimants, etc., lack of legal and financial ability of the city to properly handle the problem, dependence on the legislature, the governor and the public service commissioner, etc.

In treating of "Possible ways out of the crisis," the author considers: "The fare increase," "Other forms of financial relief," "Municipal ownership," and "A settlement promising permanent relief." The route by way of "fare increase" to present operators he considers impracticable, as well as ownership by the municipality.

The "settlement promising permanent relief" which he believes best adapted for results, embodies, briefly: (1) (a) a terminable franchise, (b) capitalization limited to bona fide expenditures to create the property, (c) the allowance of a reasonable return on investment, (d) division of profits above a reasonable return between the company and the city, and (e) provisions for terms of purchase by the municipality; (2) no increase in fares without modification of franchises or contracts in the city's interest; (3) treatment of the whole transit problem as a unified system; (4) unified operation for economy; (5) determination of capitalization, elimination of excessive claims and provision for honest betterments and extensions, with possible assessment of benefits to pay for extensions; (6) the assurance or guarantee of a fair return to the companies on honest capital and provision for dividing any surplus with the city; (7) preparation of the way to municipal ownership on definite terms and financing, when desired by the people.

These, as previously stated, are essentially the terms embodied in the Chicago traction settlement of 1907. That settlement is not satisfactory. It may be more difficult and take more time to fight to a finish now for municipal ownership than to put through some compromise. It is to be hoped that all citizens with the fighting spirit will get back of the city administration and demand a settlement in the city's interest for municipal ownership and operation. *Public service for private profit is not fundamentally sound in principle or practice and cannot go on indefinitely.*

The pamphlet is a valuable contribution on the problem.

CHARLES K. MOHLER.

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The Public Defender.—The argument in favor of creating a public official to be known as the public defender, whose duty it would be to defend indigent persons accused of crime, is summed up by Mayer C. Goldman, of the New York bar, in the January issue of *The Arbitrator*. Mr. Goldman establishes the argument on two propositions: first, that it is as much the function of the state to shield the innocent as to punish the guilty; and, second, that the presumption of innocence requires the state to defend accused persons, as well as to prosecute. He claims that the age-long plea for justice, despite which man has apparently been forced to struggle for this right, will best be met by the establishment of actual equality before the law as

only the functioning of a public defender can establish it.

Mr. Goldman assembles an imposing array of facts to show the present power of the district attorney's office, through the public reputation of this official, his staff of trained detectives and prosecutors, and his practically unlimited command of public funds to assemble all helpful evidence, pay witnesses' expenses and experts' fees and carry appeals to higher courts. Against the power and resources of the public prosecutor, who is substantially bound to be biased, many who are innocently accused of crime stand helpless. Mr. Goldman contends that the public defender should be as powerful as the prosecuting attorney, with means to employ detectives and investigators to aid in the establishment of the truth in such cases as he manages. This, Mr. Goldman contends, would preserve the rights of defendants, insure the proper presentation of their cases, eliminate unscrupulous and perjured defenses, place rich and poor prisoners for the first time on an equal footing before the law, more satisfactorily establish the truth to the public benefit, reduce the opportunity for disreputable attorneys to prey on unfortunate defendants, expediate criminal trials, and improve the tone of the criminal courts.

To the objections (a) that the accused is already too carefully safeguarded, (b) that the expense of the public prosecutor's office would be too great, and (c) that it would be anomalous for the state to defend as well as prosecute, Mr. Goldman makes detailed reply: (a) that the methods and tendencies among the minor judiciary are largely against the indigent defendant, that the numerous reversals by appelate tribunals of convictions based on the tactics or attitude of the district attorney or trial judge, expose the fallacy of the objection and that notwithstanding the so-called "safe-guards" even the champions of the present system have to concede the inequality of the contest between the state and the indigent defendant; (b) that experience in Los Angeles and elsewhere shows an actual saving of expense to the county, but that even otherwise the higher standard of justice would be worth the cost; and (c) that if in fact the ascertainment of the truth is all-important there can be nothing anomalous in any plan which tends to develop the truth.

Report of the State Park Commission (Connecticut) for the Two Fiscal Years Ended September 30, 1918.—Few public documents have the vital importance of the one above inadequately described by its title. (Published at Hartford by the State of Connecticut as Public Document No. 60.) Its thirty-six pages of text, followed by a dozen pages of illustration, includes a terse and admirable statement of a great principle which should become a part of the functioning of every commonwealth in the United States with a minimum of delay.

State parks have not been "sold to the public," to use the significant commercial phrase. Perhaps the best possible way to suggest what they are is to quote from the report of the field secretary of the Connecticut State Park Commission, who states among the things that a state park should not be the following:

It is not merely "waste land" for which the commission is reported to be hunting, at a high price.

It is not a bed of rare plants with a fountain in the middle, surrounded by a concrete walk.

It is not a beautiful arrangement of blue spruce and purple beech, with an elm tree upside down.

It is not even a large open space devoted to the systematic dulling of lawn mowers.

It cannot be made to order, like a golf links, or a wading pool, upon any convenient site.

Even more significant is a statement in the succinct report of the commissioners themselves, which reads: "In fact, a park is not a park until it is used and enjoyed by the people to whom it belongs. . . . Use involves abuse unless proper facilities and caretakers are provided."

Conception of the essentials of a state park system can be aided by further quotations:

Ownership of land by the state, to secure for all its citizens privileges which would otherwise be restricted to a favored few, is the basic principle of the policy. Such areas should include mountain tops and woodland as well as river, lake and seashore frontage. They must conserve for the public as much as possible of the natural beauties of the state. . . . The expenditure by the state in the next decade of four or five million dollars for this purpose would establish for all time that which in the end the public will demand, and the cost of which, if deferred, will grow apace.

Thus establishing the breadth and importance of the state park principle, and deploring the inadequacy with which it has been supported in Connecticut, the commission not only reports its all too scanty doings (which, however, include the acquisition of 3,150 acres in eighteen towns), but adds an item of importance in pro-

posing that to its membership of seven appointed commissioners there be added *ex officio* the highway commissioner and the commissioner of motor vehicles.

Just here is touched upon a matter of much importance. In the present moment of vast road expenditures and vaster good roads schemes, all too frequently the able engineer who designs a road considers it as merely a straight line between certain termini, and he ruthlessly disregards the natural features, the natural beauty, the history, and the communities along the line. Painful outrages have been committed and are being committed through lack of co-ordination between the whole body of aims which a well-organized state should hold. To have in a state park commission, therefore, the men responsible for the highways and for the conduct of the vehicles thereon is to bring about at least the beginning of a decent understanding of some of the problems which have heretofore been left to chance.

The Connecticut instance and the Connecticut report are alike commended to well-disposed men and women in other communities. It is not too late, if action is promptly taken, to save to Pennsylvania, to Delaware, to Ohio, to Wisconsin, to Arizona, and to every other state, some of the peculiar beauties which make each state pleasant in the eyes of its own people.

J. HORACE MCFARLAND.

Methods of Financing Parks, Parkways, and Boulevards.—The St. Paul (Minnesota) association of public and business affairs, through a sub-committee of its city-planning sub-division, has issued a valuable report on methods for paying for the costs of acquiring and improving parks, parkways, and boulevards. The report is the fruit of a lengthy investigation of the questions involved, not only as they have arisen in St. Paul, but also as they have been solved in other cities. Taking into account the methods of other cities and the effect of these methods, and squaring them with the problems that have hindered park and parkway improvements in St. Paul, the committee has recommended the following modifications of the present law, and suggested that charter amendments where necessary should be advocated:

(1) Charter should be amended so as to provide for a non-political board of assessment and apportionment to determine benefits and damages in connection with all public improvements. Members of the board of assessment and apportionment to be appointed by the district judges of Ramsey county.

(2) The cost of paving any parkway or boulevard which may be assessed against abutting property should not exceed the cost of a strip of pavement 12 feet wide adjacent to the property thus assessed.

(3) A wheelage tax is recommended to aid in laying or maintaining pavement.

(4) The city council should be empowered by unanimous vote to authorize a bond issue not to exceed $200,000 per year to assist in defraying the cost of improving parks, parkways and boulevards.

(5) In view of the current high cost of materials and labor, it is recommended that only necessary improvements be made during the present period of unsettled conditions.

Several tables appended to the report show that in leading cities of the United States the cost of acquiring land for parks and of park improvement is as a general rule paid for by the city as a whole. Practice with regard to the cost of acquiring land for parkways and boulevards and of their improvement is more diverse, though in most cases the city as a whole pays most or all of the cost. Other tables show data relating to the wheelage tax in principal cities, and the basis of license, annual rate, and average amount of automobile license fees in the various states.

Municipal Milk Distribution.—The city council of Winnipeg, Canada, recently authorized the publication of an interesting report on municipal milk supply for Winnipeg, which report recommends that "a by-law [be] submitted to the ratepayers authorizing the raising of a sum of $600,000 to establish a fully modern municipal plant for the manufacture, sale and distribution of milk and milk products." An amendment to the Winnipeg charter has been drawn up, but we have not yet learned the result of popular action thereon. The Winnipeg board of trade issued a statement claiming that the by-law "should be defeated on account of insufficient information being furnished in support of it."

A summary of various efforts to solve the milk distribution problem is contained in a pamphlet prepared by the librarian of the New York municipal reference library.

Fall River, Massachusetts, has made consider-

able progress without resort to municipal action. The chamber of commerce appointed two special committees—one to direct an educational campaign, and the other to reduce the price of milk. Through the efforts of the first committee the consumption of milk was increased from 20,000 to 30,000 quarts a day. As a result of the second committee's work the producers' milk is collected from a series of collection stations, a central dairy plant was established (eliminating the previous waste of 10,000 quarts a day), with district milk stations and a push-cart system for making house deliveries. The price of milk was thus reduced from 17 to 15 cents a quart—without cutting the price to the producer,—representing an annual saving to the consumer of approximately $500,000.

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How Shall Americanism Be Taught?—The mails are full of such pamphlets as "A program for citizenship," issued by the committee on special war activities of the National Catholic War Council; "Twenty lessons on government," prepared by Mrs. Stella C. Stimson for the W. C. T. U. of Indiana; "Americanization and citizenship," by Hanson Hart Webster; and "Americanization," a report of the committee on education of Governor Smith's reconstruction commission in New York.

The first of these is a product of the movement on the part of the Catholic church to promote better citizenship among its members and to give their character firmer rootage in sound and conservative ideas. It is reported that its organization has retained the services of an experienced teacher and organizer at a salary of $10,000 a year for the purpose of doing serious work in this field. The Church seems to have discovered the fact, still obscure to the public mind generally, that the laborer is worthy of his hire, and that work in the field of education is worth about the price we are willing to pay for it.

The second consists of lessons in the government of the state and nation prepared with great care and with the point of view of the social reformer. It may be better for these pamphlets to be prepared as a labor of love than not at all; but the teaching of government is the task of an expert. Would the W. C. T. U. commit the planning and building of a club house for the state-wide activities of its organization to a committee as inexperienced in architecture as this committee evidently was in pedagogical practice?

The pamphlet by Mr. Webster is one of the best that has yet appeared for the use of those who are teaching the recently arrived immigrant. In a paper bound booklet of 138 pages will be found all that the evening school teacher needs in dealing with these new citizens, if he is trained for his task. Some of these days we are going to learn that there is an art of teaching based on a science of pedagogy; that the teacher must have studied the science and had some supervised training in the art before he should be permitted to practice on his helpless victims; and that the welfare of society depends on our willingness to pay such trained teachers enough money to encourage young people to take up the occupation of teaching in sufficient numbers to supply what will then be the demand for them. Until we do reach this point much of our talk about training for citizenship in a republic is but sounding brass and tinkling cymbals.

The last of the list is a little leaflet and unimportant except as a peg on which to hang a reference to another part of Governor Smith's reconstruction program. It is vital to good citizenship for those who live in a community to understand something of the government under which they live. The government of our states is far more important in the life of the citizen than is the government of the United States. But no man of ordinary education and intelligence can understand the government of the state of New York; and the same is true of many other states. Governor Smith's reconstruction commission proposes to begin its work at the foundation, and to lay this carefully and deep; it proposes so to reorganize the government of the state that it will be visible, understandable, and teachable. If the commission succeeds in this task, and if the public wakes up to the fact that it is worth while to teach government to those who are becoming citizens, either as recent immigrants or as growing youth American born, then we may hope that Americanism will be taught and that Americanization will be a living process. Until then it will continue to be an expression of hysteria, afternoon tea gossip, post prandial oratory, and general sham.

EDGAR DAWSON.

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Year Book of the Citizens' Union (New York).—This interesting pamphlet covers a multitude of activities. During 1919 the committee on

legislation passed upon 739 different bills directly or indirectly affecting New York city and its government, as compared with 381 bills in 1918. Of these 166 were approved and 206 disapproved. Of 59 bills approved which passed the legislature, 45 became law. Of 74 bills opposed which passed, 28 became law.

The Albany bureau of the union was literally a "peoples' lobby," furnishing members of the union with legislative information, issuing bulletins for the information of legislators, and supplying daily printed summaries of bills to newspapers.

The city government committee showed increased usefulness and effectiveness, following carefully the work of the aldermen, board of estimate, and sinking fund commissioners. The committee's analysis of the city budget constituted perhaps the fullest independent criticism of this extraordinary financial measure. Various questionable actions of the police department were checked up and publicly reported. A taxpayer's suit, involving a $4,500,000 bond issue, instituted by the committee and carried successfully through the courts, prevented the artificial reduction of the current tax rate at the expense of future interest and sinking fund charges.

Special committees, including one to review the report of the governor's reconstruction commission, performed valuable service.

The political activities of the union during the year included, in addition to its regular work of scrutinizing the qualifications of all municipal candidates, a decided stand on two important political issues—one, the machine domination of judicial nominations; the other, the choice of candidates for vacancies in the presidency of the board of aldermen and the presidency of the borough of Manhattan. To a greater degree than ever before the voters followed the recommendations of the union. Only two candidates for higher court positions not accorded the endorsement of the union were elected. Other results are shown in the following table:

Office	*Endorsed*	*Elected*
Municipal Court	18	15
Assembly, New York county	20	14
Assembly, Kings county	15	12
Assembly, Queens county	6	5
Assembly, Manhattan	16	11
Aldermen, Kings	13	12

An organized and trained corps of volunteer watchers on election night rendered service of great value in seeing that a careful watch was kept on the canvass of the vote where there was reason to suspect attempts at a manipulation of the count.

The Year book also contains a program for the union in 1920 and an explanation of the scope of its work.

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Reorganization and Retrenchment in New York City Government is a report of the budget committee of the Brooklyn chamber of commerce made in December, 1919. This committee was assigned to study the preparation of the city budget. After following as much of the procedure as did not take place behind closed doors, the committee says: "The taxpayers of New York city have been presented with a bill of expenditures for the year 1920 amounting to more than $273,000,000, the largest in the history of the city, prepared in executive sessions by the finance committee of the board of estimate and apportionment, opened for public suggestions and criticisms so brief a time as to make comprehensive suggestions and criticisms impractical, reduced by the board in an amount approximating $43,000,000, and finally submitted to the board of aldermen, which approved it without change." The report emphasizes the superlative importance of correct budget making, and declares: "The task should be performed in the open. There should be no executive sessions. The public should be given ample opportunity to be heard if it so desires. The taxpayers should be able, at all stages of the process, to fix responsibility for the various items included, and the document when completed should present a clear and intelligent picture of the administration's program of activities for the year." Unless such a budget procedure can be developed the committee is of the opinion that the Brooklyn chamber of commerce and all similar organizations may as well be discontinued.

The committee does not stop with merely recommending the adoption of improved budget methods, since it does not believe the city's financial problems, resulting in a rapidly increasing expenditure, are so easily solved. It urges "a study of the city charter and local laws and ordinances for the purpose of determining the extent of waste due to overlapping and duplication of offices and functions, and to recommend such changes as will assist in keeping expenditures at the lowest point consistent with the

proper discharge of public functions and the reasonable extension in municipal activities." For this purpose it is recommended that a commission of eighteen men be appointed, six by the governor and three each by the president of the senate, the speaker of the house, the mayor, and the president of the board of aldermen. The appointment of such a commission requires legislation from Albany which is not very likely to be enacted by the 1920 legislature.

A. E. Buck.[1]

A State Budget System for Ohio is the title of an interesting and well-written pamphlet published by the Ohio institute for public efficiency and submitted to the committees on administrative reorganization and taxation of the Ohio general assembly. It states the essentials of an effective budget system, and in the light of these points out the shortcomings of the present Ohio budget law and budgetary procedure. It recommends the adoption of a constitutional amendment embodying the essentials of budgetary procedure; the supplementing of this amendment by statutes providing for detailed methods; a modification of the legislative rules; and the adoption of certain business methods by the administration. The budgetary procedure outlined is in keeping with the best practices of other states. A possible objection, however, may be found to writing into the constitutional amendment so much detail as is here proposed.

Under the proposed plan the governor is to become the budget-making authority of the state. He is to assume full responsibility for preparing and initiating the budget in the legislature and for carrying out the financial program when it has been approved by the legislature. The writer of this pamphlet is aware, however, that this change cannot be accomplished alone by the passage of a constitutional amendment or a statute providing for the establishment of budget methods. He says "the adoption of a complete budget system is not a single step which can be consummated over night, simply by deciding to do so," but "it consists of many parts which reach out in numerous ways into the organization and operation of the government." In other words, the establishment of an effective budget system is dependent to a very large extent upon the existence of a centralized and responsible administrative organization. Such an organization Ohio does not have. However, a step in the direction of bringing about administrative reorganization has already been undertaken. The 1919 legislature provided for a joint committee to conduct investigations with reference to the reorganization of the state administration. This committee has been organized; a staff of investigators has been employed, and the work of making the investigations is now under way.

A. E. Buck.[1]

[1] New York bureau of municipal research.

Woman's Relation to the City.—The municipal reference bureau of the university extension division, University of Kansas, has issued a monogram emphasizing some fundamental truths regarding woman's part in the management of the city's business. These truths are of themselves old; but public enlightenment requires that they be repeatedly dinned into the ears of those who are not quick to listen, or sensitive to new concepts. The potential value of the present effort lies (1) in its practical suggestions—doubtless still new to many people—for the activity of women in such municipal affairs as schools; pure milk, food, and water; inspection of weights and measures; sanitation; housing; and all things affecting the health and safety of citizens; and (2) in a classified bibliography. How far this potentiality may be realized depends on the manner in which the monogram is used.

Kansas University Municipal Reference Bureau Reports Extension Work.—The report of the municipal reference bureau conducted by the university extension division of the University of Kansas, for the year ending June 30, 1919, shows 597 inquiries and requests answered during the year, 467 from within the state and 130 from without the state. These inquiries and requests were received from city and state officials, college and university instructors, superintendents of schools, teachers, editors, women's clubs, librarians, and similar officials, as well as from private sources, and covered the entire field of municipal activities, besides subjects of agriculture, business law, and others outside the municipal domain.

NOTES AND EVENTS

I. GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

Zone Fare System Urged by Peter Witt.—Peter Witt, car builder and former street car commissioner for Cleveland, in a recent newspaper interview, emphasizes zone fares as one remedy for the street railway problem. On this point Mr. Witt said:

The most important utility is the utility of transportation. The difficulties under which it is struggling were bound to come, war or no war, for the basis upon which they sold transportation, that is a unit fare, always was and always will be wrong. No matter what the unit rate is, you can never get enough from the long distance travelers and at the same time you kill the short haul traffic.

The principal difficulty which confronts the operators of street railways is the inflation of our currency, which has cut the dollar in half, so far as its purchasing power is concerned. This merely brought the day of reckoning a little closer. Behind it all was the initial error of a wrong system of computing rates of fare. You can't run any business, as the public largely insists it should be run, on a post-war outgo and a pre-war income. It is not inflated street securities that brought on the crash, but rather an inflated currency.

The remedy for the troubles in the street car world must come in relieving, not the railway companies, but the car riders, from excess taxes, paving taxes, license taxes, and other schemes that have been adopted in part on the theory that the industry was paying the freight, when in reality the car rider carried the burden.

On top of what is proposed, the service in the future must be sold to the user on the amount of service rendered. In other words, the unit rate of fare must go—the zone system must come. A street car company's competitors are the pedestrians on the sidewalk. They must be converted from walkers to riders, but the conversion can only be made when the price for a very short ride is made exceedingly low. When this is done and cars are made to carry loads instead of moving empty seats, and the long-distance traveler compelled to pay a price somewhere nearer the cost of service rendered, then, and then only will this important industry be saved.

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Revenues to Replace the Loss from Liquor Licenses.—Many cities have found the loss of revenues formerly obtained from liquor licenses a serious problem. Among the attempts made to recoup these losses, the new license ordinance of Los Angeles is an interesting case. This ordinance places a license tax on practically everything in the city in the nature of a business. Real estate title insurance and abstracts, bill posting, the distribution of hand-bills and advertising samples, electric signs, stereopticon and moving picture advertisements, aerial transportation, amusement parks and arcades, auctioneering, automobile stations and garages, ticket agencies, watchmen, barber shops, base-ball exhibitions, bath houses, pool rooms and bowling alleys, pet stores, vending machines, blue-prints, freight and passenger boats, tug-boats, indemnity bonds, boxing and wrestling exhibitions, restaurants, wholesale and retail business, theatres and concert halls, business schools and colleges, undertakers, and professional occupations of all kinds except that of clergymen, are examples of the exhaustive enumeration in the ordinance, which contains 158 sections. Each occupation has its own license tax, according to its kind and size, the minimum appearing to be one dollar per annum and the maximum $1,875 per quarter. The tax is expected to produce about $1,250,000 annually, to replace a loss from liquor licenses amounting to over $800,000. It is claimed that the city was forced to resort to this measure since it may not, under its charter, impose a tax rate greater than one per cent of the assessed valuation of property except for sinking fund and interest charges.

✻

State-Purchasing Standardization.—Governor Ritchie of Maryland has sponsored the introduction into the legislature of a bill creating a central purchasing agency.

Governor Davis of Virginia has provided, in his budget submitted to the legislature on January 19, for an appropriation of $7,500 to maintain a state purchasing office. He recommends that a purchasing commission consisting of the governor as chairman, the state treasurer, and the auditor of public accounts, be created, and that the commissioner of state hospitals be made secretary of this board and ex-officio the state purchasing agent.

Governor Cooper of South Carolina, in his annual message to the legislature on January 13, recommended the creation of the office of pur-

chasing agent. He was led to make this recommendation by the study of the state's finances required in making up the first state budget.

Governor Russell of Mississippi, in his inaugural message to the legislature on January 20, recommended the establishment of a state purchasing department under the control of a purchasing agent. He says "the state spends millions of dollars in a short space of time, and if we could secure the services of an expert in this line it would unquestionably save the state thousands of dollars each year."

Lakewood (Ohio) Mayor Institutes Business Methods.—Last fall the women of Lakewood, Ohio, being dissatisfied with the three mayoralty candidates then in the field, asked Louis E. Hill, a retired business man with no political experience, to enter the campaign as their representative. He consented and was elected. Bringing to the office his business experience and methods, he has instituted a system of daily reports from department heads, and weekly conferences with them, for the purpose of promoting public business. All correspondence between departments passes over his desk; this he reads, and makes marginal comments and suggestions.

Not satisfied with the residence which was used as a city hall, Mayor Hill moved the municipal headquarters to a larger empty building in the city park. A sign—"City Hall—Are You Proud of It?"—placed on the old building, has roused the citizens to the need for more adequate quarters, and has won general approval of the mayor's plan for a new city hall, with store fronts and offices on the main thoroughfare, quarters for the administrative departments, and rooms and a hall for the chamber of commerce.

Municipal Ownership of Akron Lighting System Urged.—The acquisition and maintenance of the street lighting system of Akron by the city has been suggested by E. A. Kemmler, superintendent of highways, in his annual report for 1919.

The advantages which will accrue as a result of the city's purchasing the lighting system, as pointed out by Mr. Kemmler, are that the city would purchase metered power only and thereby save the payment for lamps not in service; the cost of maintenance might not be reduced, but the character of service should be improved; changes for the betterment of the service by substituting more modern or economic lamps, or by rearranging the distribution system from time to time could be made without present delays; the city will eventually have a municipally owned power plant, and by acquiring the system in the near future, before the five-year contract expires, the change from private to public ownership will be more readily made.

II. MISCELLANEOUS

Rural Community Planning Conference.—What is claimed to be the first conference of the kind ever held in Ohio, and the first of its type anywhere under red cross auspices, was a rural community planning conference held recently by the Clark county (Ohio) chapter of the American red cross, attended by over 300 delegates from community clubs throughout the county. The purpose of the conference was the interchange of experience and suggestion among the system of rural community clubs which Clark county has developed on a broad scale under red cross inspiration, and which might well serve as the pivotal point of a national movement. The speakers included rural community workers from other counties and states.

Dayton Bureau of Research Revived.—Many will be interested to know that this bureau, formerly directed by C. E. Rightor, has been re-established and is now under the directorship of C. B. Greene, who was a member of Mr. Rightor's staff. It is expected that the work of the bureau will be confined chiefly to publicity and informational service, rather than include any considerable constructive research work in the city departments.

CITY MANAGER MOVEMENT

CITY MANAGER MUNICIPALITIES

THERE is presented herewith a complete list of all towns and cities reported to the City Managers' Association as operating under, or pledged to, some variety of city-manager government. The total number on March 25, 1920, is one hundred seventy-seven, with four additional towns across the Canadian border. Of the 177, 113 have adopted approved charters, or charter amendments, indicated by "C" under the column headed "Plan"; 9 have modified-manager plans by charter, marked "C-"; while 55 have created the position of manager by ordinance of the local governing body only, indicated by "o." The column marked "No." indicates the number of men who have successively held the position of manager. That, headed "Cities," following the manager's name, indicates the number of cities each man has served as manager. To date there have been 30 "promotions" of managers from one city to a larger.

The population figures are estimates. Added information and corrections to the data submitted will be welcomed by the City Managers' Association, Harrison G. Otis, Secretary, 1812 Tribune Building, New York.

STATE CITY	POPULATION	PLAN	IN EFFECT	NO.	MANAGER NAME	CITIES	APPOINTED	SALARY
Ariz.—Phoenix	40,000	C	Apr., '14	3	V. Avery Thompson	1	Jan., '18	$5,000
Ark.—Bentonville	3,000	o	Sept., '15	1	Edgar Masoner	1	Sept., '15	1,500
Hot Springs	17,500	C	Apr., '17	2	Geo. R. Belding	1	Sept., '18	2,100
Monticello	3,500	o	Jan., '18	2	A. M. Bell	1	Jan., '20	
Calif.—Alameda	32,000	C	May, '17	1	Chas. E. Hewes	2	May, '17	5,000
Alhambra	10,000	C-	July, '15	3	Grant M. Lorraine	1	Sept., '19	2,700
Anaheim	3,500	o	Aug., '19	1	O. E. Steward	1	Aug., '19	
Bakersfield	17,000	C	Apr., '15	2	F. S. Benson	1	May, '17	4,000
Coronado	2,500	o	Jan., '20	1	G. F. Hyatt	1	Jan., '20	2,100
Glendale	11,500	o	May, '14	1	T. W. Watson	1	May, '14	2,400
Paso Robles	2,000	o	Apr., '18	2	William Ryan	1	Apr., '19	2,000
Pittsburg	7,000	o	Sept., '19	2	Randall M. Dorton	1	Nov., '19	3,000
Redding	5,000	o	Oct., '18	1	E. A. Rolison	1	Oct., '18	2,400
Salinas	4,000	C	'20					
San Anselmo	2,500	o	Nov., '17	1	C. A. Macomber	1	Nov., '17	1,800
San Diego	95,000	o	May, '15	2	Wilbur H. Judy	1	May, '19	4,000
San Jose	40,000	C	July, '16	2	W. C. Bailey	1	July, '18	6,000
Santa Barbara	20,000	C	Jan., '18	2	Robt. R. MacGregor	1	Jan., '20	4,000
South Pasadena	5,600	o	Mar., '20	1	R. V. Orbison	1	Mar., '20	
Colo.—Boulder	14,000	C	Jan., '18	2	W. D. Salter	1	June, '19	4,000
Durango	5,300	C	Mar., '15	2	W. H. Wigglesworth	1	Apr., '19	1,800
Montrose	4,000	C	Feb., '14	4	R. P. Hilleary	1	Aug., '19	3,000
Conn.—West Hartford	5,620	o	July, '19	1	B. I. Miller	1	July, '19	4,000
Fla.—Largo	500	o	June, '13	3	W. H. Turner	1	Mar., '18	1,200
Ocala	6,000	C	Feb., '18	3	R. M. Martin	1	Oct., '18	2,400
St. Augustine	8,000	C	July, '15	2	Eugene Masters	1	Apr., '18	3,600
Sanford	7,000	C	Dec., '19	1	Gerard A. Abbott	4	Dec., '19	3,600
Tallahassee	6,500	C	Feb., '20	1	J. W. Greer	2	Feb., '20	4,200
West Palm Beach	10,000	C	Nov., '19	1	Joseph Firth	1	Nov., '19	5,000
Ga.—Cartersville	6,000	C-	Aug., '17	1	Abram Cook	1	Jan., '18	2,400
Griffin	10,300	C	Dec., '18	1	E. P. Bridges	1	Dec., '18	2,550
Rome	1,4000	C	Apr., '19	1	Sam S. King	1	Apr., '19	3,000
Ill.—Glencoe	4,000	o	Jan., '14	1	H. H. Sherer	1	Jan., '14	5,000
Wilmette	5,500	o	Oct., '18	2	Chas. C. Schultz	1	Dec., '18	2,100
Winnetka	6,800	o	Jan., '15	2	H. L. Woolhiser	1	May, '17	3,600
Iowa—Anamosa	3,000	o	May, '19	1	W. F. Hathaway	1	May, '19	1,800
Clarinda	5,000	o	Apr., '13	2	Henry Traxler	1	May, '19	2,700
Dubuque	47,500	C	Apr., '20					
Estherville	4,200	o	May, '19	1	F. G. Connelly	1	May, '19	
Iowa Falls	4,000	o	May, '14	2	J. O. Gregg	1	May, '17	1,800
Manchester	3,300	o	May, '16	2	Thomas Wilson	1	May, '17	1,440
Mt. Pleasant	4,170	o	Apr., '16	1	T. W. McMillan	1	Apr., '16	1,800
Villisca	2,200	o	May, '19	1	W. J. Oviatt	1	May, '19	1,200
Webster City	6,000	C	Oct., '16	2	G. J. Long	1	Apr., '17	1,800

STATE	CITY	POPULATION	PLAN	IN EFFECT	NO.	MANAGER NAME	CITIES	APPOINTED	SALARY
Kans.—El Dorado		18,000	C	July, '17	1	Bert C. Wells, Jr.	1	July, '17	$3,600
	Hays	3,300	C	May, '19	1	Jas. C. Manning	1	May, '19	3,000
	McCracken	1,000	C	May, '19	1	Leonard L. Ryan	1	May, '19	1,800
	Wichita	75,000	C	Apr., '17	2	L. W. Clapp	1	Oct., '19	6,000
Ky.—Cynthiana		5,000	C-	Dec., '15	2	J. J. Curle	1	Dec., '18	
Me.—Auburn		17,000	C	Jan., '18	2	Edward A. Beck	3	Feb., '19	5,400
Mass.—Concord		7,000	o	Mar., '20					
	Norwood	14,000	C-	Jan., '15	2	Wm. P. Hammersley	1	Mar., '18	4,000
	Waltham	33,000	C	Jan., '18	2	Henry F. Beal	1	Feb., '20	5,000
Mich.—Albion		9,000	C	Jan., '16	3	W. E. Baumgardner	1	May, '18	2,000
	Alma	8,500	C	May, '19	1	W. E. Reynolds	1	May, '19	4,500
	Alpena	13,300	C	Apr., '16	2	Chas. T. Park	1	Apr., '18	1,920
	Big Rapids	5,100	C	Apr., '14	4	Dan H. Vincent	1	May, '17	1,200
	Birmingham	5,000	C	Apr., '18	2	Maurice Lowman	1	Mar., '19	2,750
	Cadillac	10,000	C	Mar., '14	3	George Johnston	1	Jan., '18	2,200
	Crystal Falls	7,000	C	Apr., '18	1	J. H. Sanders	1	Apr., '18	3,000
	Eaton Rapids	3,000	o	Oct., '13	3	O. S. Yager	1	Jan., '18	1,500
	Grand Haven	7,500	C	Apr., '15	2				
	Grand Rapids	165,000	C	Mar., '17	2	Fred H. Locke	1	May, '18	5,000
	Grosse Pte. Shrs.	1,200	C	June, '16	2	H. N. Kennedy	1	Apr., '18	4,200
	Jackson	52,000	C	Jan., '15	3	A. W. D. Hall	1	May, '17	4,000
	Kalamazoo	55,000	C	June, '18	1	Harry H. Freeman	1	June, '18	6,000
	Lapeer	4,500	C	May, '19	1				
	Manistee	12,000	C	May, '14	2	P. H. Beauvais	1	May, '18	4,000
	Muskegon	50,000	C	Jan., '20	1	I. R. Ellison	3	Jan., '20	
	Otsego	4,000	C	May, '18	2				
	Petoskey	6,000	C	Apr., '16	4	J. Frank Quinn	1	Jan., '20	5,000
	Portland	2,000	C	Jan., '19	1	F. L. Jenkins	1	Jan., '19	1,800
	Royal Oak	6,000	C	May, '18	2	Geo. E. Weitzel	1	Oct., '18	3,000
	St. Johns	4,000	C-	Aug., '18	2	Theo. H. Townsend	1	July, '19	3,000
	Sault Ste. Marie	14,000	C	Dec., '17	2	Wilder M. Rich	1	Aug., '18	3,000
	Three Rivers	5,750	C	Apr., '18	1	O. O. Johnson	1	Apr., '18	1,800
Minn.—Anoka		4,300	C-	Apr., '14	1	Henry Lee	1	Apr., '14	1,200
	Morris	3,500	C-	Jan., '14	2	Frank J. Haight	1	Oct., '18	1,800
	Pipestone	3,500	o	May, '17	1	F. E. Cogswell	1	May, '17	1,800
Mont.—Columbus		1,000	o	Nov., '18	3	Harry P. Schug	1	Jan., '20	1,800
	Glasgow	3,500	o	July, '16	2	Harvey Booth	1	Mar., '18	2,100
	Scobey	1,000	o	Jan., '20	1	Roy N. Stewart	1	Jan., '20	
Nebr.—Alliance		7,000	o	Aug., '19	1	Cassius C. Smith	2	Aug., '19	3,000
N. Mex.—Albuquerque		20,000	C	Jan., '18	3	James N. Gladding	1	Feb., '20	5,000
	Clovis	5,000	o	June, '19	1	Oscar Dobbs	1	June, '19	2,700
	Roswell	9,000	o	May, '14	2	A. G. Jaffa	1	July, '16	2,400
N. Y.—Auburn		40,000	C	Jan., '20	1	John P. Jaeckel	1	Jan., '20	4,000
	Newburgh	30,000	C	Jan., '16	4	W. Johnston McKay	1	Sept., '20	3,600
	Niagara Falls	55,000	C	Jan., '16	2	Edwin J. Fort	1	Sept., '18	5,000
	Sherrill	1,500	C	June, '16	3	Amos G. Reeve	1	Feb., '20	
	Watertown	40,000	C	Jan., '20	1	C. A. Bingham	3	Jan., '20	7,500
	Watervliet	16,000	C	Jan., '20	1	Jas. B. McLeese	1	Jan., '20	4,500
N. C.—Elizabeth City		15,000	C	Apr., '15	3				
	Gastonia	20,000	C	Aug., '19	1	W. J. Alexander	1	Aug., '19	3,600
	Goldsboro	11,000	C	July, '17	2	I. M. Cashell	1	Oct., '18	3,300
	Hickory	5,200	C	May, '13	3	J. W. Ballew	1	May, '16	1,500
	High Point	14,000	C	May, '15	3	R. L. Pickett	1	Mar., '16	2,700
	Morehead City	3,500	o	June, '16	2	John S. Bennett	1	June, '19	1,800
	Morganton	4,250	C	May, '13	3	W. R. Patten	1	May, '18	1,800
	Tarboro	5,100	o	Apr., '15	1	J. H. Jacocks	1	Apr., '15	1,500
	Thomasville	5,000	C	May, '15	6	Jas. T. Stewart, Jr.	1	Sept., '19	2,500
Ohio—Akron		200,000	C	Jan., '20	1	W. J. Laub	1	Jan., '20	10,000
	Ashtabula	21,500	C	Jan., '16	2	M. H. Turner	1	Jan., '18	3,000
	Dayton	170,000	C	Jan., '14	2	James E. Barlow	1	Mar., '18	7,500
	East Cleveland	25,000	C	Jan., '18	1	C. M. Osborn	1	Jan., '18	6,000
	Gallipolis	6,500	C	Jan., '18	1	Edward E. Myers	1	Jan., '18	1,500
	Painesville	6,750	C	Nov., '19	1	Thomas B. Wyman	1	Jan., '20	4,000
	Sandusky	25,000	C	Jan., '16	2	Geo. M. Zimmerman	1	Apr., '18	5,000
	So. Charleston	1,500	C	Jan., '18	1	P. H. Cheney	1	Jan., '18	1,600
	Springfield	70,000	C	Jan., '14	2	Ossian E. Carr	3	Sept., '18	6,000
	Westerville	3,500	C	Jan., '16	2	Ralph W. Orebaugh	1	Sept., '17	2,100
	Xenia	10,000	C	Jan., '18	1	Kenyon Riddle	2	Jan., '18	3,600
Okla.—Coalgate		4,000	C	July, '14	3	Leslie E. Bay	1	Aug., '19	1,620
	Collinsville	2,500	C	Feb., '14	2	F. A. Wright	1	May, '16	1,800
	Madill	2,000	C	Nov., '17	3	A. P. Marsh	1	May, '18	1,800
	Mangum	5,000	C	Nov., '14	4	R. B. Snell	1	Jan., '19	1,800
	McAlester	19,000	C	Nov., '19	1	E. M. Fry	1	Nov., '19	5,000
	Muskogee	50,000	C	Apr., '20					
	Norman	6,500	C	Sept., '19	1	W. R. Gater	1	Sept., '19	

STATE	CITY	POPULATION	PLAN	IN EFFECT	NO.	MANAGER NAME	CITIES	APPOINTED	SALARY
	Nowata	8,000	C	Apr., '20					
	Sallisaw	3,000	C	Nov., '19	1	Fred E. Johnston	1	Nov., '19	$3,000
	Walters	3,600	C	Sept., '19	1	W. B. Anthony	1	Nov., '19	3,000
	Weatherford	3,000	o	Aug., '17	3	G. A. Critchfield	1	June, '19	1,700
Ore.—	La Grande	6,200	C	Oct., '13	4	John Collier	1	Jan., '19	1,800
Pa.—	Altoona	65,000	o	Jan., '18	1	H. Gordon Hinkle	1	Jan., '18	7,500
	Ambridge	13,000	o	Nov., '18	2	W. M. Cotton	3	Feb., '20	4,500
	Coraopolis	7,500	o	Mar., '20					
	Edgeworth	2,500	o	Jan., '14	3	Robert Lloyd	1	Mar., '20	
	Mifflinburg	2,000	o	Jan., '19	1	Wm. D. Kochersperger	1	Jan., '19	2,500
	Sewickley	6,200	o	Oct., '18	1				
	Towanda	6,000	o	Apr., '18	1	W. T. Howie	1	Apr., '18	1,200
S. C.—	Beaufort	3,700	C	May, '15	4	Hal R. Pollitzer	1	May, '18	1,800
	Rock Hill	10,000	C	Feb., '15	2	E. R. Treverton	1	Dec., '19	3,600
	Sumter	10,000	C	Jan., '13	5	W. T. Brown	1	May, '19	4,000
S. D.—	Clark	1,500	o	May, '12	1	J. E. Smith	1	May, '12	1,200
Tenn.—	Alcoa	3,500	C	July, '19	1	V. J. Hultquist	1	July, '19	2,000
	Kingsport	10,000	C	Mar., '17	3	Herbert L. Kidd	1	Apr., '20	4,200
Tex.—	Amarillo	20,000	C	Dec., '12	4	S. B. Motlow	1	Jan., '20	
	Beaumont	35,351	C	May, '20					
	Brownsville	13,200	C	Jan., '16	3	George Grupe	1	Feb., '20	5,000
	Brownwood	10,500	C-	Apr., '16	3	E. R. Brashear	1	Feb., '19	2,400
	Bryan	5,530	C	July, '17	3	H. A. Burger (acting)	1	Feb., '20	
	Denton	7,000	C	Apr., '14	3	H. V. Hennen		June '19	
	Eastland	12,000	C	Jan., '19	1	Walter Lander	2	Jan., '19	6,000
	Electra	7,000	C	May, '19	1	W. H. Larson	1	May, '19	4,200
	Lubbock	2,200	C	'18	1	Martin S. Ruby		'18	
	Lufkin	7,000	C	Apr., '19	1	Lequin Mitchell	2	Apr., '19	3,000
	Ranger	30,000	C	May, '19	1				
	San Angelo	16,500	C	June, '16	1	E. L. Wells, Jr.	1	June, '16	2,500
	Sherman	18,000	C	Apr., '15	2	O. J. S. Ellingson	1	Apr., '15	3,600
	Stamford	5,000	C	June, '18	2	H. J. Bradshaw	1	'19	
	Taylor	8,200	C	Apr., '14	3	A. V. Hyde	1	Apr., '18	2,000
	Teague	3,760	o	Jan., '15	3	C. E. Johnson	1	'19	
	Terrell	8,400	C	Aug., '19	1	J. P. Kittrell	1	Aug., '19	2,400
	Tyler	15,000	C	Apr., '15	2	Henry J. Graeser	1	Aug., '18	3,600
	Yoakum	7,500	C	Apr., '15	2	J. V. Lucas	1	Nov., '19	
Utah—	Brigham City	5,000	o	Jan., '18	2	John H. Burt	1	Jan., '20	
Va.—	Bedford	4,500	o	Apr., '20					
	Blackstone	2,000	o	June, '14	1	R. B. Stone	1	June, '14	1,500
	Bristol	7,200	C	Sept., '19	1	R. W. Rigsby	1	Sept., '19	3,000
	Charlottesville	13,000	o	Aug., '13	3	Shelton S. Fife	1	Sept., '18	2,400
	Farmville	4,000	o	Sept., '15	2	Leslie Fogus	1	Sept., '17	1,400
	Fredericksburg	7,000	o	Sept., '12	2	L. J. Houston, Jr.	1	Oct., '18	3,600
	Hampton	8,000	C	Sept., '20					
	Lynchburg	35,000	C	June, '20					
	Newport News	37,500	C	'20					
	Norfolk	200,000	C	Sept., '18	1	Chas. E. Ashburner	3	Sept., '18	12,000
	Petersburg	25,000	C	Sept., '20					
	Portsmouth	80,000	C	Jan., '17	2	W. B. Bates	1	Aug., '17	5,000
	Roanoke	47,346	C	Sept., '18	1	W. P. Hunter	1	Sept., '18	4,800
	Staunton	12,000	o	Jan., '08	2	S. D. Holsinger	1	Jan., '11	2,000
	Suffolk	9,000	C	Sept., '19	1	Richard H. Brinkley	1	Oct., '19	3,000
	Warrenton	3,000	o	Mar., '20	1	L. M. Clarkson	1	Mar., '20	1,800
	Winchester	7,000	o	May, '16	2	Thos. J. Trier	1	May, '18	2,000
Vt.—	Springfield	8,000	o	Apr., '20					
W. Va.—	Charleston	43,000	C-	May, '15	3	Bonner H. Hill	1	May, '19	4,500
	Wheeling	80,000	C	July, '17	2	Chas. O. Ephlin	2	June, '19	8,000
Canada									
P. Q.—	Grand Mere		o	Mar., '20	1	J. Ortiz	1	Mar., '20	
	Westmount	20,000	C	Apr., '13	1	George W. Thompson	1	Apr., '13	
N. B.—	Edmunston		o	Mar., '20	1	L. L. Theriault	1	Mar., '20	
	Woodstock	4,000	o	June, '19	1	R. Fraser Armstrong	1	June, '19	3,000

TECHNICAL SUPPLEMENTS

OF THE

National Municipal Review

1. The Assessment of Real Estate

By LAWSON PURDY,

for eleven years President, Dept. of Taxes and Assessments, City of New York; in co-operation with the National Municipal League's Committee on New Sources of Revenue, Robert Murray Haig, Chairman.

Describes the type of organization and principles of administration best adapted to the task of assessing real estate in American municipalities—the mature conclusions of a notable tax administrator. 24 pages.

2. Administrative Consolidation in State Governments

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